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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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IN THIS ISSUE

February, 1952

MARTYR FOR A CAUSE—*by Gloster B. Current* 73
NEED FOR A SUITABLE CLOTURE RULE—*By William Benton* 83
BOOKS BY NEGRO AUTHORS, 1951—*By Arthur B. Spingarn* 91
REPORT ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN 1951—*By Walter White* 97
NAACP LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON HARRY MOORE SLAYING 105
EDITORIALS 102

DEPARTMENTS

GOOD NEWS 104
LOOKING AND LISTENING 107
ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 115
BRANCH NEWS 120
COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 125
LEGAL DIRECTORY 132

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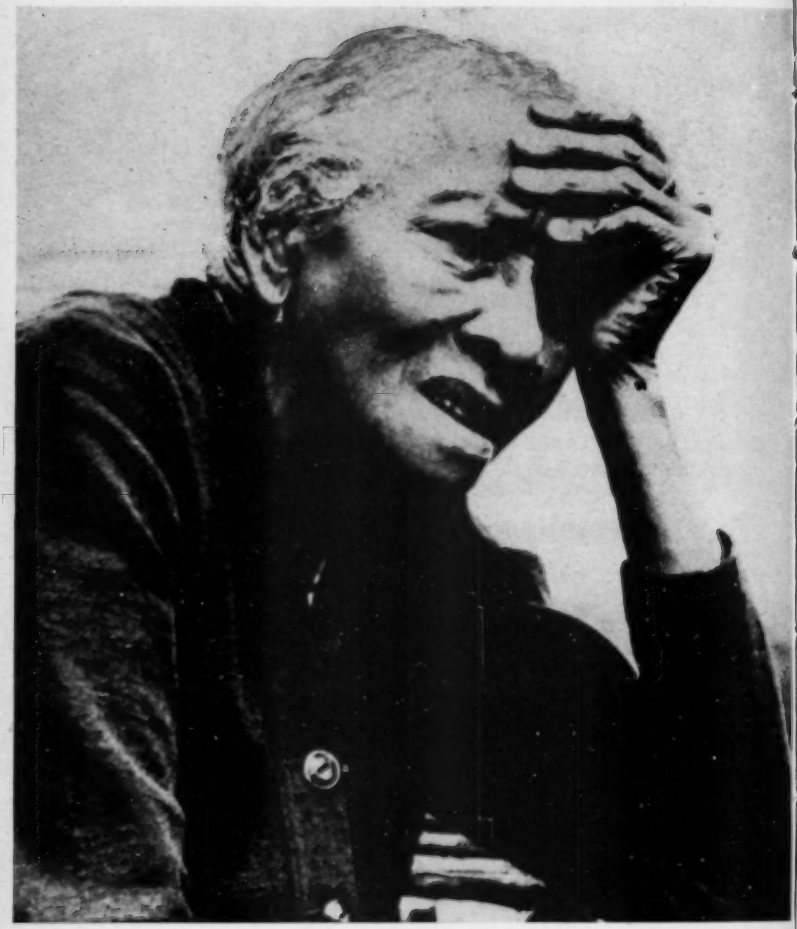
33



Courtesy Pittsburgh Courier

A MOTHER'S GRIEF—*Mrs. Rosa A. Moore, mother of the martyred Harry T. Moore, hate-bomb victim. "A grief without pang, void, dark and drear; a stifled, drowsy, unimpassioned grief, which finds no natural outlet, no relief, in word, or sigh, or tear."*

■ How the late Harry T. Moore served his race for many years with a passion for anonymity

Martyr for a Cause

By Gloster B. Current

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.
St. John 15:13

DECEMBER twenty-fifth in Florida, U.S.A., Nineteen Hundred and Fifty-One will go down in history as a night of infamy. While the world sang carols of "Peace and Good-will", the news broke of the horrible bombing of the home of Harry T. Moore in Mims. The blast shattered more than the holiday calm. It shocked the entire world into realization that mob violence, Florida variety, does not stop even on Christmas Night. The death of Moore at the hands of cowardly, unknown, heartless and cruel assassins once again pointed up the continuing wide disparity between the American profession of democratic ideals, and the actual practice of denial of civil rights in so many parts of the nation.

The 46-year-old NAACP leader and his 49-year old wife, Harriet, were asleep in the front bedroom of their small four-room cottage which lies deep in a small orange grove owned by the Moores just off U.S. Highway No. 1. His mother, Mrs. Rosa A. Moore, and a daughter were sleeping in the back of the house. The family was together for the brief holidays as was their custom. For during most of the year, Moore traveled extensively for the NAACP and his wife, mother and daughter were employed by school systems in other sections of the state. Christmas presents lay unopened in the parlor. They were to be opened the next day after the arrival of another daughter from Washington, D.C.

The force of the explosion blew the Moores and their bed to the roof. Hearing the blast, Sgt. George Sims, brother of Mrs. Moore, came running from his home nearby and dug the wounded couple out of the debris. He drove them in an automoble to the nearest hospital in Sanford. Moore was pronounced dead upon arrival. His wife, suffering critical internal injuries, survived for several days and, after appearing to be recovering, suffered a relapse and died suddenly January 3, two days after the burial of her hus-

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GLOSTER B. CURRENT *is director of NAACP branches.*

Wide World

MRS. HARRIET MOORE
1902—January 3, 1952

band. Mrs. Moore had told reporters she had nothing to live for after her husband's death.

Moore served his race for many years with a passion for anonymity. He was given in death a well-deserved recognition for his contribution to the advancement of the Negro, a recognition denied him in life. He was quiet, soft-spoken, self-effacing. No one could have associated him with the bombastic, militant type of crusader who is stereotyped in the minds of many white Southerners as a "trouble-maker." Some of the finest tributes paid him came from the very local authorities who during his lifetime had told him he was trying to go "too fast."

BASIS FOR TRAGEDY

Why did anyone want to kill him? What was the basis of this terrible tragedy?

The answer to these questions lies in his activity with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Florida. Moore, during a seventeen year period of activity with the NAACP, worked persistently as a volunteer and paid worker for full equality for Negros in Florida and elsewhere. He served the Association, first as president and organizer of the Brevard country branch, 1934-1939; president of the Florida State Conference, 1941 to 1946; executive secretary of the Conference, 1946, until November 1951, when he assumed the duties of State Coordinator of Branches. He wore out at least three automobiles covering the state from end to end. He visited, talked, organized, planned, investigated lynchings, denials of the franchise, police brutality, held conferences and workshops and did the hundreds of little and thankless jobs which are the duties of an organizer.

Shortly after the Brevard county branch was organized, Edward Reeves, one of the charter members, was killed in an altercation with a white man. Reeves went to a sawmill to collect a debt from one George Holden, Negro witnesses contended that Reeves was struck from behind and slain by a piece of timber in the hands of John L. Conrad, a bystander. A coroner's warrant from

the justice of peace was issued against Conrad, charging him with murder in the first degree and a warrant was also issued against Holden charging him with being an accomplice. Both men posted bond to appear before the grand jury, but, as so often happens in such cases, the state's witnesses, mostly Negros, disappeared.

When no further action was taken at the spring term of court, Moore got in touch with the NAACP national office, which advised the retention of an attorney. Attorney M. C. McGregor, white, who agreed to help the branch, reported, after several efforts, that his investigation was hampered by indifference on the part of local authorities and the disappearance of the witnesses.

The murderers of Reeves were never brought to justice. But Harry Moore kept on fighting and remembering not only that incident, but many others about which he tried to obtain justice.

Wide World

HARRY T. MOORE
November 18, 1905—December 25, 1951

ORGANIZES STATE CONFERENCE

Shortly after the organization of the Brevard county branch in 1934, Moore wrote the national office citing the need for a state conference to better coordinate the fight against exclusion of Negroes from Democratic primaries and for equalization of teachers' salaries.

The conference was formally organized in 1941, with Moore as the first state president. It grew from nine branches to a peak of seventy-seven branches in 1947. Realizing the need for a full time worker, the State Conference in 1946 employed Moore as the executive secretary. Because of his militant activity with the Brevard county branch and the State Conference, he lost his teaching job in 1945. His wife, Harriet, also was not reappointed and failed to secure another teaching post until 1948.

Raising money to finance the state work was at all times a difficult task and the conference was constantly hampered by a lack of funds. As a result of the inability of the conference to pay Mr. Moore his salary and because of the decline in branch membership in Florida in 1950 and 1951, the conference decided it could no longer finance a full-time executive secretary. Moore was then named Coordinator of Branches

Wide World

EFFECTS OF BOMB BLAST—*Damaged cottage of Harry T. Moore at Mims, Florida. The Christmas night blast completely wrecked the dwelling.*

at the state meeting which met in Daytona Beach, November, 1951, and a new financial program was in process of being developed at the time of his death.

TEACHERS SALARY CASES

In 1937, Moore began laying the groundwork for the fight to equalize teachers salaries, along with Noah Griffin and other Negro teachers in Florida. Moore wrote Charles Houston, then NAACP special council, that the state appropriated annually $800 for each instruction unit, based on average attendance. "Each county is supposed to supplement this state money to provide a decent salary for teachers. In one county, however, and in most counties of Florida, Negro teachers are not paid even all the money the state sends out for their salaries. Every Negro teacher in this county, principals in-

year. This case was the first in the Deep South and was watched keenly by other states.

Florida school boards sought to hinder the NAACP's program by intimidating the Negro principals and teachers through dismissals of principals and supporters of teachers' salary cases. Gilbert was dismissed by the county board of public instruction shortly after the NAACP filed suit in his behalf. Noah W. Griffin, president of the St. Petersburg branch and also president of the Florida State Teachers Association, principal of Gibbs High School in St. Petersburg, was also dismissed in June, 1938.

DECISION AFFIRMED

The Supreme Court of Florida affirmed the decision of the lower court of Brevard county in the Gilbert case, denying a writ of mandamus to compel the school board to equalize salaries on the grounds that there was no statutory provision requiring salary schedules. Despite this setback, the fight for equalization continued.

In January, 1940, a suit was filed in behalf of Vernon McDaniels, of Escambia county, principal of the Washington High School. The school board made a very weak answer to the complaint, and, after the lower court refused to dismiss the case, negotiated with McDaniels and the other plaintiffs without the knowledge of NAACP attorneys. The county agreed to equalize the salaries gradually until 1943. Thereafter all salaries would be equal.

As a result of the work of the NAACP, the salaries of Negro teachers in Florida were steadily increased.

Moore considered voting to be "a fundamental privilege; and if Negroes can just retain the right to vote in the primaries of Florida, we shall be well on the way toward solving some of the most serious problems that have faced us during the past fifty years," he said in a brief report on the work of the NAACP in Florida at the Southeastern Regional Conference in Charleston, South Carolina, March 29, 1947.

POLITICAL ACTION

When the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Texas Primary Case in 1944, Moore and Negro leaders in Florida immediately launched a political action program. He helped organize the Progressive Voters League of Florida in 1944. Its aim, as stated by Moore, was as follows:

To get the democratic primary open to Negro voters in every county in Florida; (2) to encourage the masses of our people to register and vote; (3) to make contact with the various candidates and to make recommendations to our voters on the basis of the candidate's recommendations and attitudes.

Moore was employed as executive secretary of the new organization. In this capacity he sounded out candidates on issues, mailed questionnaires to candidates seeking the nomination for important federal offices, asking them to make clear their stand on issues vital to the Negro. After careful consideration, the League then recommended candidates to the Negro voters of the state.

Very often Moore's group was presented with a Hobson's choice. For example, in 1946 Moore ex-

Gleason's

THESE TWO PICTURES *reveal the terrific effects of the bomb blast in the Harry T. Moore home.*

cluded, received less than $800 last year. This and other gross discriminations exist, even though the state constitution provides that 'impartial provisions shall be made for white and Negro children'."

Moore made contacts with Attorney S. D. McGill of Jacksonville, who was retained to fight the cases. He also enlisted the aid of the Florida State Teachers Association and Noah W. Griffin.

On May 24, 1938, a petition was filed by Attorney McGill and NAACP lawyers in behalf of John Gilbert, member of the executive committee of the Brevard county branch, a teacher and principal in the Cocoa Junior High School of Brevard county, seeking establishment of equal salary schedules for white and colored teachers. Principal Gilbert, holding a second grade certificate from the state department of education and in his eleventh year of teaching, was receiving a total of $738 per year. White teaching principals were receiving above $900 per

Courtesy Pittsburgh Courier

"ASHES TO ASHES"—*Rev. J. W. Bruno intones committal over body of Harry T. Moore.* BOTTOM: *Harry T. Moore's body taken to its grave at Mims. More than 600 people attended funeral services of martyred NAACP leader, preached by Rev. J. W. Bruno.*

plained to co-workers the difficulty of selecting a candidate to support for senator. Many members of the board expressed the opinion that Mrs. Polly Rose Balfe was the most liberal of the four candidates in the field. However, it was the general opinion of the board that the real race would be between Spessard L. Holland and Lex Green. And since Green has publicly announced his intention to "champion the cause of the white democratic primary and of the noble traditions of the white south," the board voted to endorse the candidacy of Spessard L. Holland. Holland was elected but did not prove to be an advocate of civil rights.

CIVIL RIGHTS

In January, 1950, in identical letters to Senators Claude Pepper and Spessard Holland, Moore called attention to recent statements by President Truman and Democratic leaders in Congress promising that civil-rights legislation would be among the first matters considered. He reminded the senators of the Groveland case and how the Negro defendants "were brutally beaten by local officers but no action has been taken on this charge. If local authorities refused to act on such cases, surely the federal government should be empowered to come in and mete out justice." Citing the keen desire of Florida Negro citizens for the passage of "effective civil rights legislation," the senators were urged to support civil-rights bills in that session.

Holland, in his reply to Moore, argued against the civil-rights program, placing great emphasis on state's rights—the right of Florida and other states "to control within their own borders such matters as law enforcement, qualification of voters, employment practices and education."

MOORE REBUTTAL

In rebuttal, Moore answered his arguments:

This is the core of our argument. Since the days of Reconstruction the doctrine of 'states rights' has been used against the Negro in the South. In retaining and exercising the powers mentioned above, the southern states have been very unfair to Negro citizens. In cases where whites and Negroes are involved, law enforcement in Florida and other southern states is usually very one-sided.

When the Groveland, Florida, Negroes were accused of rape last July, a special session of the grand jury was called, and the men were indicted, tried and convicted in short order. Seven months have passed since a mob of white people terrorized these innocent Negroes around Groveland and burned three of their homes to ashes, but no special grand jury has been called to investigate these crimes against Negroes. These are some good examples of the type of 'law enforcement' that we get in southern states when whites and Negroes are involved.

In the same way he outlined arguments in support of federal civil-rights laws:

This same unfair situation exists in the matter of qualification of voters. The southern states have used, and are still using, various unfair methods to disfranchise Negro citizens. Even in Florida there are still some counties where Negroes are kept from voting by intimidation. Although Negroes com-

prise almost half of the population of Madison county, not one Negro was registered to vote there in 1948. No Negroes were registered in Lafayette, Liberty, and Hendry counties.

Union county, with 1025 Negroes old enough to vote, had only one registered. In 1948 a few Negroes in Gadsden county insisted on voting against the 'advice' of the precinct clerk and other local whites. That same night the home of one of those Negroes was blasted with dynamite, and another Negro had to flee with his family to New Jersey. No arrests have been made by local officers.

Indicating how cogently he could argue against the reference made by Southerners to race tension in the North exceeding that in the South, Moore said:

The bare fact is that Negroes in many southern communities are so thoroughly suppressed and intimidated by local whites that they are afraid to raise a hand in their own defense. (I make this statement as a Negro who has lived in Florida all of his life.) We have had cases where Negroes were even afraid to initiate legal action against whites who had murdered or mistreated members of their own families. The grandson of a Negro in my home was almost killed by a convict guard a few years ago. When we offered to assist the grandfather in having some legal steps taken, his reply was: 'Well, I've got to live here with these white folks. So I guess I better not bother with that.' When Jesse James Payne was taken at gun point from his wife and sister by three white men in 1949, the Negro family had no thought of retaliating or trying to help him. Their first thought was to try to get out of Madison county.

The same thing was true with the parents of Willie James Howard, the 15-year-old Negro boy of Live Oak, Florida, who was snatched from his mother by three white men on the first Sunday in January, 1944, during your term as Governor [Caldwell] and drowned in the Suwannee River. The parents practically gave their home away and left that county. In plain words, the odds are stacked so heavily against Negroes in the South that most of us 'go out of our way' to avoid trouble with white people. We often yield our rights and even suffer severe injuries and insults at the hands of white people in our efforts to avoid racial trouble. Negroes in most states outside of the South enjoy more freedom, and they are usually ready to stand their ground and strike back when whites attempt to trample their rights.

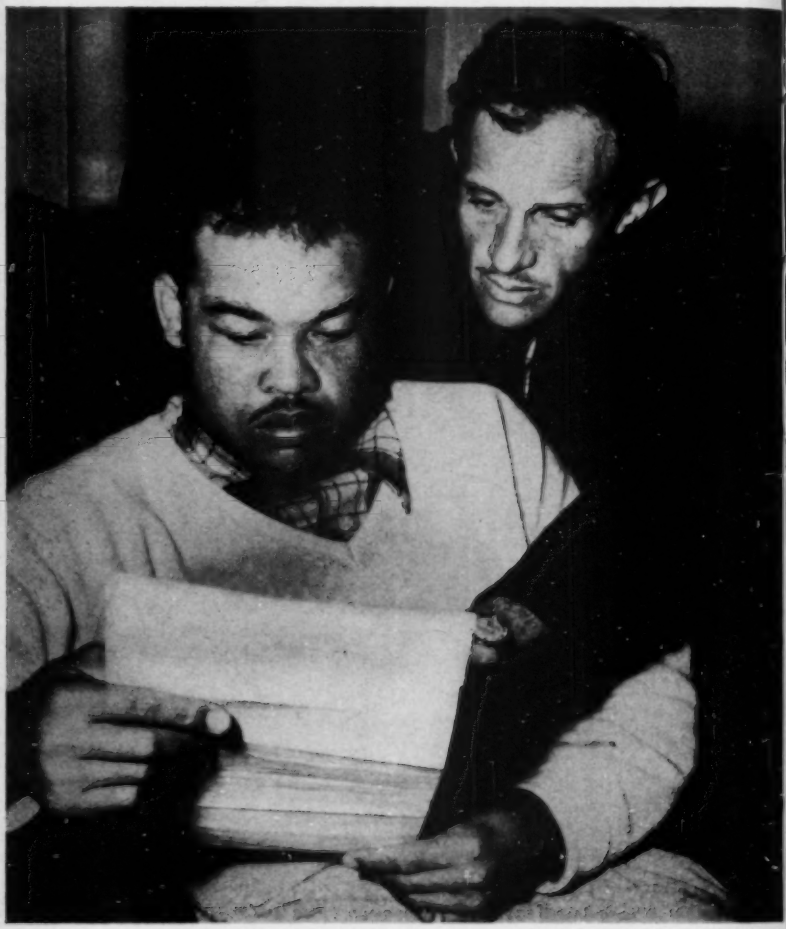
MOB VIOLENCE

Much of Moore's efforts were devoted to the investigation of lynchings, mob violence, and police brutality. He investigated the lynching of Jesse James Payne, October, 1945. Some indication of the reason why the NAACP opposed the appointment of former Governor Millard Caldwell, Jr., as Director of Civilian Defense, can be found in Moore's report on the Jesse Payne case. Commenting on the failure of former Governor Caldwell to act, Moore said:

Frankly we were disappointed at the attitude of our Governor in this matter. Either he was not particulary concerned about the murder of a Negro or he was unable to fully appreciate the seriousness of the situation.

When Governor Caldwell won a suit for damages in a libel action against *Collier's Magazine* as a result of editorial censure of his alleged statements and lack of effec-

(*Continued on page* 133)



Wide World

HITS GOLF BAN—*Former heavyweight boxing champion Joe Louis (left) and secretary Leonard Reed look at PGA-sanctioned golf tourney list from which Joe was banned as amateur player because of his race. Louis had been invited by the San Diego, Calif., tournament committee before it learned of the Professional Golf Association ban on Negroes. Joe was finally admitted.*

■ Why there has been no civil-rights legislation passed in the United States Senate

Need for a Suitable Cloture Rule*

By William Benton

THESE hearings have brought out that the Senate of the United States is working today with a set of Rules of Procedure which have not been substantially changed since 1884.

Further, the Senate of the United States does not even have available a printed compilation of the precedents established under these Rules. Our Senate Parliamentarian, Mr. Watkins, has been engaged in compiling these precedents by hand, on loose leaf sheets; he has been working on these for years, day-and-night, and largely on his own time and his notes are his own; and only this summer did the Congress vote him an assistant so that he might speed up this vital task.

Is it likely that ever in world history has there been another comparable situation, with such an urgent need for a concise clear-cut, code of rules for the operation of a deliberative body? Here in the Senate, some of us choose to regard ourselves as the greatest deliberative body in the world. How can we seek to live up to this role—without rules that can be understood by each of us?

A background of antiquated procedures has been the core of the problem, as in these hearings the Rules Committee has weighed the defects of the present Senate rule on cloture—Rule XXII.

In my opinion, this rule is today responsible for this country's greatest single handicap in our relations with the various races of the world. In this rule we have legislative obstruction which prevents the Congress from eliminating second-class citizenship for millions of our fellow Americans. Rule XXII keeps the Congress from giving legal equality to Americans of every race, creed, color, or national origin.

* Senator Benton's closing statement on cloture made during the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration hearings on cloture October, 1951.

WILLIAM BENTON is Democratic senator from the state of Connecticut.

Senate cloture, an always critical issue, has been made far more critical by the times in which we live. These times underscore the supreme necessity of striving to change Senate Rule XXII by every practicable means, and in the immediate future. The change is now imperative because seemingly in no other way can the American people enact the civil rights legislation to which the overwhelming majority are dedicated and to which both party platforms are pledged.

LIMITED DEBATE

Revision of Rule XXII would in no way deny freedom of speech. Such revision would merely provide limitation of debate which is general in most of our state legislative bodies. Indeed, many of the opponents of any change in this rule come from states where the legislatures do not allow unlimited debate.

To reassure ourselves, we in the Senate need only look across the Capitol to the House of Representatives, a body responsive to the most urgent electoral mandate under our constitutional system, the mandate of running for office every two years. The House conducts its business under parliamentary rules which give every member the right to talk but deny him the power which no man should have in a free society—the power to stop the will of the majority from being registered after every reasonable opportunity for rational debate has been exhausted.

In the United States Senate during the current session we have passed a defense bill calling for the expenditure of 60 billion dollars and for great sacrifices from all our citizens. We have passed bills for UMT and selective service which affect every family with young men and women. Yet at this session, Rule XXII has permitted a small minority to deny to many millions of our citizens the constitutional rights which they are being called upon to defend with their property and their lives.

This denial costs us cooperation and good-will abroad. It costs us cooperation that cannot be calculated in dollars. I estimate that, were it possible so to calculate it, the sum would run into tens of billions of dollars.

FIRST CLOTURE RULE

These hearings have clearly brought out how ineffective have been all past attempts to secure a suitable cloture rule for the Senate. The first such rule, adopted in 1917, required only a two-thirds vote of those Senators present. This was subsequently interpreted in such a way that even if the two-thirds vote were secured, cloture would not actually result, because of certain loopholes and limitations. The 1917 vote to establish a cloture rule was 76 to 3, and manifestly the 76 senators did not anticipate legalistic interpretations which thwarted their intentions. This 1917 vote and the 1917 cloture rule has been twisted and corrupted, it seems to me, into a manifest violation of the intent of the 76 Senators.

The revision of the rule in 1949, to require a constitutional two-thirds vote of the entire membership of the Senate—to require that 64 Senators must be present and voting on the Floor—did indeed open the way for real cloture, if and as the 64 votes

could be secured. However, manifestly, the new rule does not open any door for cloture on an issue involving civil rights legislation. On any such issue, it has been demonstrated that it is impossible to get 64 Senators present and voting on the Floor for cloture. In the thirty-four years since 1917, out of 21 attempts at cloture, only four have been successful, and not one single one on any fundamental issue of civil rights.

STRANGLEHOLD SUB-RULE

These hearings have further brought out how, when the cloture rule was revised in 1949, Subsection 3 of Rule XXII was added to the Rule. This addition provides a stranglehold which prevents any further attempt to change the rule. Section 3 guarantees a filibuster against any proposed change in Senate rules designed to open the way for the passage of civil rights legislation. During these hearings, I've been privately assured that 8 men can carry on a filibuster indefinitely against the other 88. Eight against 88—and forever successful—this is now permissible on any effort to change the Senate rules. This seems to me to make a farce of our democratic processes.

Let us suppose it were 18 against 78—and forever—yes, forever with power in the 18 to block the will of the 78. Is this not equally a travesty of our faith in the democratic processes?

Vice-President Barkley, in 1949, warned the Senate that if it passed Rule XXII "the Senate can never reach a point where it can vote on an amendment to its own rules if there is a determined effort made to prevent the Senate from ever reaching that point."

I wonder how many members of the Senate at that time intended as the Vice-President said, to "freeze its own rules in perpetuity." Does not such a freeze seemingly establish a procedure without appeal and without hope? Can "the greatest deliberative body in the world" allow such a situation to continue?

Our committee has heard from Senator Saltonstall how he and many of his Republican colleagues did not welcome the 1949 rule which was of course the result of compromise. He told us how section 3 was put in "at the tail end of the discussion," and he agreed with my suggestion that it was a "powerful sleeper."

I have been greatly interested in the arguments against the constitutionality of Rule XXII. Senators Lehman and Humphrey have expressed their doubts as to its validity. An excellent brief on the subject was submitted by Mr. Walter Reuther.

Senator Monroney and I early agreed that, regardless of my hopes or anyone's hopes that Rule XXII might be unconstitutional, the Committee would best serve the objectives of the Rules Committee, to bring out all relevant evidence from our witnesses, if for the immediate purposes of these hearings we assumed that the Rule was constitutional.

SIX INSTANCES

However, it does not seem to me necessary to be an expert at constitutional law to understand that the Constitution specifically spells out

the six instances where a two-third vote is required. In five of these instances, merely two-thirds of a quorum is required—and not two-thirds of the entire membership of the Senate. These five instances are impeachment, expulsion, overriding a veto, treaty ratification, and a proposal to amend the Constitution. The only time the Constitution provides for a two-thirds vote of the entire Chamber is when it is called upon to elect a Vice-President.

Yet, in the face of these five requirements for a two-thirds vote of a quorum of those present and voting, we now have Rule XXII—which is a mere procedural rule of the Senate—setting up a requirement calling for not merely the presence of the constitutional two-thirds (64) required to be present for the election of a Vice-President—but actually calling for 64 votes delivered on the floor. And where in the Constitution can any sanction be found for the infamous Section 3?

Apart from the constitutional doubt, there is a most manifest inequity in continuing a provision in a mere procedural rule which far outdoes a unique constitutional provision, raising a constitutional majority to a constitutional two-thirds. Thus it seems to be high time, and most urgently high time, that this procedural rule be subjected to intensive re-examination.

We have heard some charges during these hearings of past deals, and of compromises of principles to acquire votes.

We have heard Senator Morse call Rule XXII "a tragic mistake" by those in his party who permitted the compromises involved within it. . . .

CLOTURE BY MAJORITY

We have heard proposals by distinguished members of the Senate calling for cloture by majority vote after 48 hours of debate; by majority vote at any time; by majority vote after 14 days of debate; but in an emergency by a two-thirds vote after 48 hours; and by a vote of two-thirds of a quorum.

Further, this Committee has listened to arguments of two Senators opposing any change whatever in the present Rule XXII. These two represent the views of many more.

Over a period of several days, we have heard the pleas of representatives of many important segments of our population.

As acting Chairman I have not been persuaded that there is any relationship between the right of a Senator to speak unendingly and his right to defend his State. It has not been demonstrated to me that the unilateral defense of the rights of any of our States, as evidenced by unending speech, is superior to the defense of the Union.

Further, no testimony before this committee has persuaded me that procedures for reasonable and controlled limitation of debate will destory any bulwark of democracy.

Of the four Resolutions before the Committee, I unequivocally favor Senate Resolution 105, sponsored by Senator Lehman and nine other Senators including myself. Surely 14 days is a reasonable amount of time for the Senate adequately to argue any measure, before cloture by majority vote. Surely the two-thirds vote for cloture only after 48 hours debate seems sufficient safeguard

against any encroachment of our freedom of speech. Senator Hayden has pointed out how a Senator today can get to Washington from anywhere in the country in 24 hours.

There are merits in the other proposals for reform which have been presented to this Committee. All seem to me an improvement over the present rule. I hope that the full committee will consider the several ideas presented during these hearings.

In conclusion I have four observations. I suggest, first, that the question of the constitutionally of Rule XXII must be thoroughly and imaginatively explored by the staff of the Committee.

SUGGESTED REMEDIES

Secondly, I call for a general codification and review of, looking towards a revision of, the Senate rules, a revision long overdue. Senator Humphrey has given us a lead in his proposal before the Committee on Expenditures. In this he called for a joint select committee to draft plans for improvements in the rules of both houses.

Another proposal, by Dr. Harvey Walker of Ohio State University, would set up a permanent staff of competent experts under the Speaker and Vice-President and the parliamentarians of the two Houses to study and propose changes in the rules. However, I believe that revision of the Senate rules merits separate study and treatment. I therefore propose to introduce a Senate Resolution to provide for the creation of a Commission on Revision of Senate Rules. This Commission would be appointed by the Vice-President—five members from the Senate selected from the Rules Committee on a bi-partisan basis, and an equal number of others, including the Senate Parliamentarian and the Librarian of Congress who will of course be back stopped by the several experts in the Library of Congress. My resolution will propose such a Commission on an ad hoc basis only. One year should be sufficient to prepare its report. The Commission should be free to conduct investigations and hearings.

I would like to hope that through such a Commission the much-needed revision of Senate procedures can be most constructively achieved. Such a Commission would also of course give the country an educational lesson in the handicaps under which its highest representative body has been operating. Manifestly, however, such a Commission can offer no quick relief from the cloture rule which is what we have primarily been considering in these hearings.

Thirdly, the argument of Senator Humphrey and Mr. Walter Reuther that the Senate is not a continuous body, and thus should have a new set of rules at the beginning of each Congress, calls for expert study and evaluation. Mr. Reuther's forthright oral presentation of this thesis and his supplemental statement have displayed a most admirable devotion to a great and just cause.

Fourthly, the suggestion has been several times advanced that the Senate should stay in session this fall and "slug out a filibuster." I do not think I need to attest that I have been wholly prepared to stay here in Washington, with this Committee

to discuss and to consider this great issue and to push for action. Similarly, I have stood ready to do the same in the Senate itself and would have pressed for this if I had thought that the Senate could be held in session with any reasonable hope of a successful outcome.

SPECIAL SESSION

Now that the Senate has adjourned, the idea of staying in session is only possible through a special session called by the President. Such a special session presents grave and practical difficulties, although I appreciate the sincerity of those who have pressed this idea upon me. I would now favor it enthusiastically if I felt there was any reasonable chance of success from it. . . .

Although we have been considering a very tough and to some an unsolvable problem, I believe that these hearings mark a significant step forward in the long fight for a "sanity code" in Senate debate. I refuse to view the problem as other than one which must and shall be resolved.

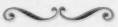
I have been impressed by the studious, intelligent, and amazingly informed approach which has been brought to this problem by the representatives of group after group testifying before this committee. . . .

These hearings are the most recent chapter in a long, extended fight for a basic right.

Now, I feel, is no time for despair —now when we must continue to hope that relief is in sight.

It appears to me that the attitude of the Senate is changing, slow as the change seems to be. I thus choose to look upon these hearings as a prelude to the final culmination of action in changing Rule XXII.

At a time when free institutions are exposed to world-wide attack, we who champion the democratic cause cannot allow the freedoms of democracy to be used to defeat the processes of democracy, either at home or abroad.



"There is wisdom in treading on thorns; if you do not hunt the snake the snake will hunt you."

—African proverb from the Engouda

★ ★ ★

"Let the candid man buy a good horse to escape on when he has told the truth."

—African proverb from the Haussa

★ ★ ★

"Do not hate the man, but hate the evil deed."

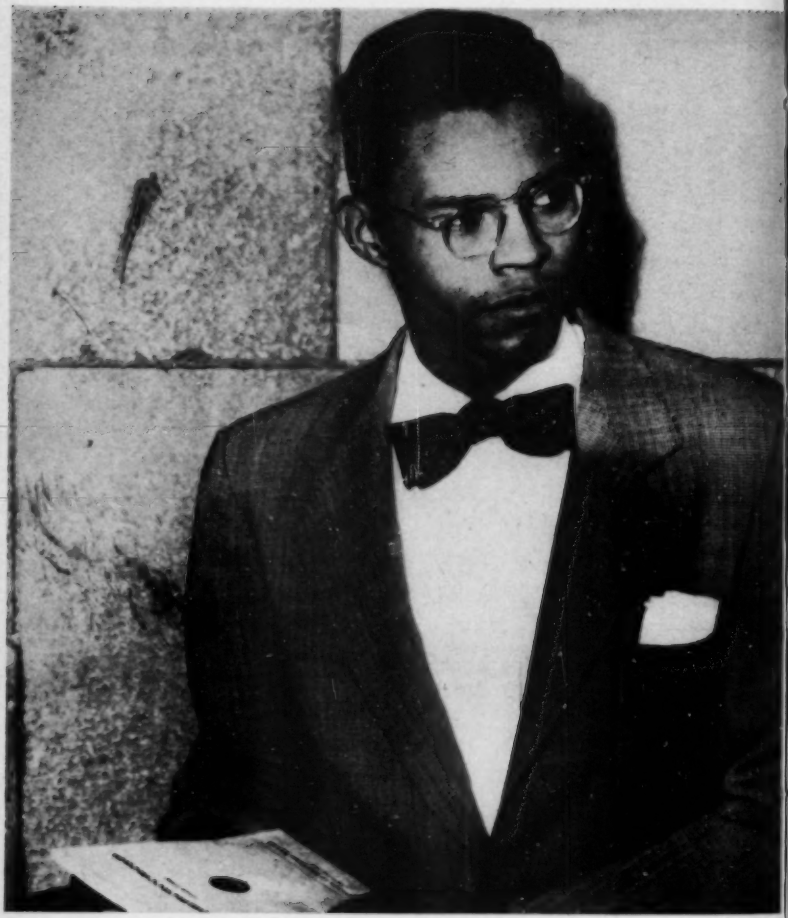
—African proverb from the Sechuana

U. S. Army Photo

NEW YORK SOLDIERS IN KOREA *line up for an Army photographer following their recent graduation from the 69th Transportation Truck Battalion's Drivers' Training school. The four received their diplomas in a ceremony near Eighth Army advance headquarters. Left to right: Pvt. George Gaylord; PFC Edward Harney, 542 E. 141st St.; Pvt. Willie Johnson, 300B 33rd St.; and Pvt. George Terry, 1240 Frankling Avenue. As truck drivers, they are now supplying the front-line units of the Eighth Army.*

That Bartolome Mitré (1821-1906), Argentinean soldier and journalist, praised the valor of Negro soldiers who fought in the South American wars of independence?

Mitré refers to Negro soldiers in his "History of San Martin and South American Emanicipation" (1887).



Wide World

ENROLLED AT UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE—*Gene Mitchell Gray, 23, who began classes at the University of Tennessee in January as the first Negro student in the history of the university. Gray is seeking the degree of Master of Science in biochemistry.*

■ Paragraph reviews of 1951 Negro books for the guidance of Crisis readers and librarians

Books by Negro Authors, 1951

By Arthur B. Spingarn

THIS résumé (the sixteenth annual one published in *The Crisis*), following the practice adopted by its compiler in the previous ones, notices all books and pamphlets in English by colored (in accordance with the United States definition of "colored") authors published in 1951 that have come to his attention. It includes a few that appeared in 1950 which he saw too late to include in last year's résumé. It is obviously incomplete and, as heretofore, omits mention of works in foreign languages (except those written by natives of the United States), some of which are important. No comments are made on books that have been reviewed in *The Crisis* (other than to indicate where such reviews may be found), or on the separately listed pamphlets.

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, *whose hobby is the collection of books by Negroes, has been president of the NAACP since December,* 1939.

I. BOOKS

BONTEMPS, ARNA. Chariot in the Sky. A Story of the Jubilee Singers. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co. 234pp. $2.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis for* August-September 1951 at page 469.

BONTEMPS, ARNA (with Jack Conroy). Sam Patch. The High and Wide Handsome Jumper. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 39pp. $2.00

Another of these authors' "tall tales." This one is based on the legend of Sam Patch. Ideal reading for youngsters from 7 to 10.

BROOKS, STELLA BREWER. Joel Chandler Harris—Folklorist. Atlanta, Georgia: University of Georgia Press. 182pp. $4.00

A scholarly knowledge of folklore is here displayed by a sister of J. Mason Brewer, himself an authority on this fascinating subject.

BROWN, LLOYD. Iron City. A novel. New York: Masses & Mainstream. 255pp. Cloth $3.00. Paper $1.50

An apologia for Communism; propaganda in the form of an unconvincing novel.

BROWN, ROBERT H. Wine of Youth. New York: The Exposition Press. 46pp. $2.00

Pleasant verses, principally inspired by the love of nature.

BUSIA, K. A. The Position of the Chief in Modern Political System of Ashanti. Oxford: International African Institute. 233pp. 18/

A scholarly study by a Native of Ashanti on the influence of contemporary social changes on Ashanti political institutions. A doctoral thesis.

BUTLER, JAMES ALPHEUS. Philosopher and Saint. New York: The Exposition Press. $2.00

Sonnets and poems by a veteran poet who has published pleasing verses approximately decennially since 1932.

COOK, MERCER. An Introduction to Haiti. Washington, D. C.: Pan American Union. VII+150pp. $1.50

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October 1951 at page 552.

CUDJEO, S. D. Aid to African Autonomy. 62pp. 5/

A review of education and politics in the Gold Coast by a Native African residing in Great Britain.

DAY, HELEN CALDWELL. Color Ebony. New York: Sheed & Ward. 182pp. $2.25

The autobiography of a twenty-two year old girl, largely concerned with her conversion to Catholicism.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN THE U.S. Edited by Herbert Aptheker (White). Preface by W. E. B. DuBois. New York: The Citadel Press. 942pp. $7.50

A collection of material carefully selected to fortify the editor's conception of history written entirely by Negroes. It contains much material difficult to find elsewhere. The book is in no sense a history but is valuable as a partial source book.

DODSON, OWEN. Boy at the Window. A novel. New York: Farrar, Straus & Young Inc. 212pp. $2.75

A sensitive novel by this unusually gifted poet, which disappointed the many admirers of his verse.

EDMONDS, HELEN G. The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. VIII +260pp. $5.00

An objective and scholarly study which sheds considerable new light on both the history and the politics of this period.

FALASHA ANTHOLOGY. Translated from the Ethiopian sources, with an introduction by Wolf Leslau. New Haven: Yale University Press. 222pp. $4.00

Selections from the religious writings of the Black Jews of Ethiopia.

FLEMING, G. JAMES with CHRISTIAN E. BURCKELL. Who's Who in Colored America. 7th Edition. Yonkers-on-Hudson: Christian E. Burckel & Associates. XVI+648pp. $10.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November 1951 at page 625.

GHOLSON, EDWARD. The Philosophy of Ignorance. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 170pp. $3.00

Another self-financed book by this prolific clergyman.

HARRELD, CLAUDIA WHITE. Remembered Encounters. Detroit: The Author. 44pp. $1.00

A privately printed booklet of verse (some in dialect) displaying both sincerity and talent.

HARRIS, M. LAFAYETTE. Life Can be Meaningful. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 195pp. $2.00

An inspirational book by the president of Philander Smith College.

HAYNES, GEORGE EDWARD. Africa: Continent of the Future. New York: Association Press. 532pp. $3.50

An up-to-date compendium and guide to economic, political, cultural, educational, social and religious conditions throughout Negro Africa. A very useful work.

HILL, ARTHUR C. & J. W. MILLER. From Yesterday Thru Tomorrow. New York: Vantage Press. 143pp. $2.75

The story of the Negro's struggle in the U. S. unconvincingly told through the spirit of a fictional victim of mob violence.

HUFF, WILLIAM HENRY. From Deep Within. Chicago: The Dierkes Press. 40pp. $1.00

A second booklet of verse by a well-known Chicago lawyer.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. Montage for a Dream Deferred. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 75pp. $2.00

One of the best of Langston Hughes' volumes of verse; in the opinion of the compiler his best in many years, which is high praise for any modern poetry.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. Gypsy Ballads. Beloit, Wisconsin: The Beloit Poetry Journal. 40pp. $1.00

Federico García Lorca's famous *Gypsy Ballads* (*Romancero Gitano*, 1928) faithfully rendered into beautiful English verse by Langston Hughes.

JARVIS, J. ANTONIO. Bluebeard's Last Wife. Charlotte Amalie, V. I: Jarvis Art Gallery. 26pp. $2.00

A dramatic poem based on Virgin Island folklore.

JOHNSON, WILLIAM. William Johnson's Natchez. The Ante-bellum diary of a Free Negro, edited by William Ranson Hogan and Edwin Adams Davis. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 812pp. $10.00

A recently discovered diary written between 1835 and 1852 by an ex-slave. An important and interesting historical document which suggests relations between Negroes and Southern whites which necessitate a revision of many accepted beliefs concerning race relations during this period and in this region.

LOGAN, RAYFORD W. (Editor). Memoirs of a Monticello Slave as Dictated to Charles Campbell in the 1840's by Isaac, one of Thomas Jefferson's Slaves. Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press. 45pp. $3.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for January 1952 at page 60.

MARCELIN, PHILIPPE THOBY and PIERRE MARCELIN. The Pencil of God. Translated by Leonard Thomas, with an introduction by Edmund Wilson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 204pp. $2.50

The third novel of these gifted Haitian brothers to be published in English translation.

MASON, JORDAN MASON. Notebook #23. Ranches of Taos: Motive Book Shop. Unpaged. $0.65

"Modern Poetry" with the accent on modern rather than poetry.

MITTELHOLZER, EDGAR. Shadows Move Among Themselves. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 334pp. $3.00

This author, a native of British Guiana residing in London, has written within the last two years two unusual and charming books: the above and *A Morning in Trinidad*, published by Doubleday in New York; and in London under the title *A Morning at the Office*, by the Hogarth Press.

MORRIS, EARL J. The Cop. New York:

The Exposition Press. 126pp. $2.50

The author, himself a police officer, is an admirable citizen but unfortunately a poor novelist.

MOTELY, WILLARD. We Fished All Night. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 560pp. $3.75

A bitter and uneven novel. Though it contains some moving and living passages, on the whole it is far inferior to the author's earlier, splendid *Knock on Any Door.*

MURRAY, PAULI. State's Laws on Race and Color. Compiled and edited by Pauli Murray. Cincinnati, Ohio: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church. 746pp. $4.00

This compendium of all state laws on racial discrimination (with an appendix of international documents, Federal Laws and Regulations, local ordinances) is an indispensable book not only for lawyers but for everyone concerned with race relations.

NELSON, DENNIS D. The Integration of the Negro in the U. S. Navy. New York: Farrar, Straus & Young. 238pp. $4.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for December 1951 at page 691.

NYABONGO, VIRGINIA SIMMONS. Les Palmiers. La Habana: Editorial Lex. 60pp.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October 1951 at page 554.

OTTLEY, ROI. No Green Pastures. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 234 pp. $3.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November 1951 at page 589.

PATTERSON, WILLIAM L. (Editor). We Charge Genocide. The Crime of Government Against the Negro People. A Petition to the United Nations. New York: Civil Rights Congress. 240pp. $1.50

An impressive array of shocking atrocities, most of which are true. But in common with communistic propaganda much is distorted and omitted and false impression is created that the atrocities were sanctioned by United States laws instead of being in violation of them.

PIPES, WILLIAM H. Say Amen, Brother! Old Time Negro Preaching. A Study in American frustration. New York: The Williams-Frederick Press. 210 pp. $4.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for August-September 1951 at page 469.

PITTS, NATHAN ALVIN. The Cooperative Movement in Negro Communities in North Carolina. Washington, D. C. 201pp. $2.25

A doctoral dissertation.

PORTER, JAMES A. Robert S. Duncanson: Midwestern Romantic Realist. Springfield, Mass.: Art in America, Vol. 39, No. 3. 55pp. $150.00

The first full study of a pioneer Negro painter. Illustrated with examples of his work.

REDDING, J. SAUNDERS. On Being a Negro in America. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 156pp. $3.00

The personal reactions of a successful author and teacher to the discrimination he encountered, the wounds he suffered and difficulties of his adjustment to a normal life.

RICHER, CLEMENT. Ti-Coyo and his Shark: An Unmoral Fable. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 235pp. $3.00

A delightful story, by a native of Martinique, of a boy who trained his pet shark to devour all his rivals.

ROSBROUGH, SADIE MAE. Wasted Travail. New York: Vantage Press.

A novel about a Negro girl's attempt to better her life.

TATUM, ELBERT LEE. The Changed Political Thought of the Negro. 1915-1940. New York: Exposition Press. 205pp. $3.00

An historical survey by a professor at Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

THURMAN, HOWARD. Deep Is the Hunger. Meditations for Apostles of Sensitiveness. New York: Harper & Brothers. X+212pp. $2.50

This distinguished churchman has again written a moving and rewarding book.

TONEY, IEDA MAI. The Young Scholar and Other Poems. Boston: Meador Publishing Co. 32pp. $2.00

A first volume of verse, with an introduction by President Hill of Wilberforce University, showing no trace of poetic talent.

TURNER, ALLEN PELZER. Oak of Eden. New York: Exposition Press. 135pp. $3.00

A novel without a convincing plot, plausible situation, or credible characters.

WATERS, ETHEL. His Eye Is on the Sparrow. An autobiography, with Charles Samuels. New York: Doubleday & Co. 204pp. $3.00

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for August-September 1951 at page 469.

WELLINGTON, JOSEPH. The Glory of Womanhood. New York: Exposition Press. 40pp. $1.50

A discourse first delivered in 1934 and often repeated by Dr. Wellington.

WILLIAMS, ERIC. Education in the West Indies. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. 127 pp. $2.00

An examination of educational conditions by this brilliant scholar, formerly a professor at Howard University.

YERBY, FRANK. A Woman Named Fancy. New York: Dial Press. $3.00

Another best seller by this phenomenally successful author, his sixth consecutive novel to make the best seller list.

II. PAMPHLETS

Among the pamphlets published during 1951, *the following may be noted:*

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. South Africa Behind Bars.

JAMES EGBERT ALLEN. Concentration Versus Integration in Negro History. New York.

JEAN F. BRIERRE. Famous Women in Haitian History. Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Translated by Mercer Cook.

RALPH J. BUNCHE. Equal Justice Under the Law. New York.

RALPH J. BUNCHE. More Powerful Than an "A Bomb." New York.

RALPH J. BUNCHE. The Road is Too Little Travelled. Springfield, Illinois.

D. A. CHAPMAN. The Human Geography of Eweland (Anglo District). Paris, France.

BEN J. DAVIS. The Negro People in the Struggle for Peace and Freedom. New York.

W. E. B. DUBOIS. I Take My Stand for Peace. New York.

ANNA ARNOLD HEDGMAN. Fifty Years of Progress in Government Service. Pittsburgh

CAMPBELL C. JOHNSON. Fifty Years of Progress in the Armed Services. Pittsburgh.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Fifty Years of Progress in Social Development. Pittsburgh.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON SPEAKS. Brooklyn, New York.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN. Fifty Years of Progress in Greek Letter Societies. Pittsburgh.

THURGOOD MARSHALL. Report on Korea. New York.

THURGOOD MARSHALL. The Supreme Court as Protector of Civil Rights. Philadelphia.

MARJORIE MCKENZIE. Fifty Years of Progress for Negro Women. Pittsburgh.

LEROY J. MONTGOMERY. The Negro Problems. New York.

E. M. MULIRA. Troubled Uganda. London, England.

N.A.A.C.P. The Fantastic Case of the Trenton Six. New York.

N.A.A.C.P. In Defense of Democracy. New York.

N.A.A.C.P. Assault—At 75 Feet. New York.

N.A.A.C.P. Civil Rights at Mid-Century. Annual report for 1950. New York.

AMANDE OKAFOR. Nigeria—Why We Fight for Freedom. New York.

DOROTHY B. PORTER. Padre Domingos Caldas Barbosa: Afro-Brazilian Poet. Atlanta, Georgia.

HARRY RAYMOND. Save Willie McGee. New York.

BEULAH RICHARDSON. A Black Woman Speaks of White Womanhood. A poem. New York.

PAUL ROBESON SPEAKS TO YOUTH. New York.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER. The Van Vechten Revolution. Atlanta, Georgia.

WILLIAM GRANT STILL. Fifty Years of Progress in Music. Pittsburgh.

TUSKEGEE. Changing Status of the Negro in Southern Agriculture. Tuskegee, Alabama.

HENRY WINSTON. What it Means to be a Communist. New York.

LOUIS T. WRIGHT. Numerous Medical Pamphlets, chiefly on Aureomycin research. New York.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the Negro French spoken in Louisiana is called *gombo-français?*

No one has yet offered a satisfactory explanation why the Negro "creole" of Louisiana is called *gombo. Gombo* may be from the Congo (Angolo) *quingombo* or *ngombo.* As a generic term *gombo,* which Tinker says is as "smooth and rounded as warm butter," is also applied to various culinary preparations. Lafcadio Hearn compiled a book of Louisiana "Creole" proverbs titled *Gombo Zhèbes.*

★ ★ ★

That the very respectable mother and school teacher Louise Raymond wrote a number of bawdy tales about interracial love in old Louisiana?

Louise Raymond (1820-1894), who wrote under the pen name of Mme. Sidonie de la Houssaye, was the mother of fourteen children and so respectable that people could hardly imagine her as authoring tales of incest and debauchery. *Octavia the Quadroon,* written in French, is probably the best known of her stories.

■ **The NAACP executive secretary reports on activities of the Association during 1951**

Report on Civil Rights In 1951

By Walter White

AMONG gains made on the civil rights front during 1951 were the acquittal of four of the six men being re-tried for murder in the Trenton Six case; the federal indictments returned against seven city officials of Cicero, Illinois; the abolition of segregation in the Army in Korea, and the continuing breakdown of segregation in publicly financed institutions of higher education in the South.

Despite these notable gains, there was ample evidence of enduring vitality of bigotry, intolerance and violence culminating in the Christmas night murder by bombing of Harry T. Moore at his home in Mims, Florida.

At times during the year, justice and human rights in America seemed to be standing still or even moving backward a few steps just when the world's jitters should have hammered home the need for cleaning up our jim-crow backyard and strengthening our democracy as never before. Yet, ironically, we saw in our country a resurgence of violence—rioting, home burning, bombings, police brutality, and mockery of the revered American concept of "Equal Justice Under Law." Cicero, Martinsville, Groveland, Birmingham, Miami, and Mims, the horror names of 1951, drove home more strongly than ever the continuing and increasing need for the NAACP.

Prompted by complaints of mistreatment by Negro GIs fighting in segregated units in Korea, the Association in January sent its special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, to the Far East to investigate circumstances surrounding the seemingly excessive number of court martial actions against Negro servicemen. After conferring with the men themselves and with top level Army personnel in Japan and Korea, including General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Mr. Marshall uncovered facts revealing shocking discrimination against Negro soldiers. His documented report charged that the segregation policies prevalent in the Far East

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WALTER WHITE *is executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*

command lay behind the injustices, and led to the announcement that the all-Negro 24th Division would be liquidated and segregation terminated in the Far East command. Legal action by the NAACP subsequently won reduced sentences for a number of the court-martialed men.

On the legislative front, the year looked gloomy from the start. After the 81st Congress dissolved with a do-nothing record on civil rights, convening of the 82nd Congress offered no promise of improvement.

REACTIONARY FORCES

The restoration of life-or-death power over legislation to the House Rules Committee, together with President Truman's appointment of former Governor Millard F. Caldwell, Jr., of Florida as Director of Civil Defense, all seemed omens of appeasement of the Dixiecrats. The NAACP girded itself for a hard fight against reactionary forces in the new Congress, and met with a certain degree of success. It mobilized its branches and outside organizations for the ultimate defeat of the Winstead amendment, which would have permitted inductees to serve in segregated units if they so chose. It also called together a group of organizations for a civil-rights meeting in Washington in May, and was able to bring about open hearings on a change in Senate rules to prevent filibusters. The NAACP, of course, has been in the forefront of the campaign to do away with the filibuster, and was extremely active in the Washington hearings.

In education, where the greatest strides have been made in recent years by the Association, the picture again looked brighter than in any other field of NAACP endeavor. In February, the University of Maryland announced that the doors of all its colleges and schools would be opened to Negro students and that all its facilities would be available on an unsegregated basis. In March, an NAACP victory in the U. S. Court of Appeals, ending the ban against Negro students at the law school of the University of North Carolina, seemed to be a decisive development in the fight for educational equality —because if the court refused to uphold the "equality" of the best-equipped and longest-established segregated law school in the country, it seems unlikely that it would in the future uphold any hastily thrown-together makeshift jim-crow institution of higher learning.

The focus has now shifted to the elementary and high school levels, with the launching of legal attacks against segregated public schools in Atlanta, Georgia; Clarendon County, S. C.; Topeka, Kansas; and Wilmington, Delaware. It may well be that decisions affecting the ultimate outcome of segregation in public elementary and secondary schools will be handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1952.

GROVELAND TRAGEDY

In April, the Association won what looked as though it might have been its most outstanding victory of the year, when the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the convictions of Samuel Shepherd and Walter Irvin in the infamous Groveland, Florida, "rape" case, and ordered a new trial. In a precedent-shattering

concurring opinion, Justice Robert H. Jackson excoriated the role played by a biased and inflammatory press in influencing the jurors, and said that "These convictions, accompanied by such events, do not meet any civilized conception of due process of law."

But the victory was tragically short-lived, for on November 6, the eve of the re-trial ordered for Shepherd and Irvin by the highest court in our country, Sheriff Willis McCall shot the two defendants down in cold blood on a dark country road. Samuel Shepherd was killed outright; Walter Irvin, miraculously escaping instant death, stands trial now, although he was critically wounded. The slayer still holds the office of Sheriff of Lake county, and thus far nothing has been done to punish him for his defiance of the law and of the United States Supreme Court. NAACP attorneys are again defending Irvin, and branches are circulating petitions calling for justice in the case.

Appalling examples of "unequal justice" cropped up throughout the year. In February, seven Negroes were put to death in Martinsville, Va., after their conviction for rape—a crime for which no white person in the state pays with his life. In Cicero, Ill., a grand jury investigating the July rioting precipitated when the Harvey E. Clark family tried to move into their new apartment in a white neighborhood, indicted — not the rioters — but the NAACP attorney and others who aided the Clarks after they had suffered the complete ruin of their belongings at the hands of the mob. (The NAACP finally won the dismissal of the ridiculous charges against the attorney, George Leighton, but not until irreparable harm had been done by this miscarriage of justice.) Subsequently, after a number of conferences with NAACP officials, the Department of Justice moved in and impanelled a special federal grand jury and special prosecutor. Indictments were then returned against seven city officials for their role in preventing the Clarks from moving into their apartment.

OCULAR "RAPE"

In Yanceyville, N. C., in November, Mack Ingram went on trial for "looking" at a white girl from a distance of 75 feet—a "crime" for which he had previously been convicted and sentenced to two years at hard labor. A hung jury resulted in a mistrial.

Not all of the year's court cases brought grief to the cause of human rights, however. In one case on which the eyes of the world were centered—that of the Trenton Six—the NAACP defended two of the four men who were acquitted after the fifteen-week murder trial, the longest in New Jersey's history. All six of the defendants had previously been convicted and their convictions reversed by the New Jersey Supreme Court. The Association is now participating with other organizations in an appeal for Collis English and Ralph Cooper, the two who were convicted.

The Washington Bureau of the Association continued to act as a watchdog over pending legislation and other happenings in the nation's

capital which affected the program of the NAACP and the welfare of Negroes and other minority groups. Testimony was offered at congressional hearings on all such matters. One of the outstanding accomplishments of the Bureau during the year was the securing of a guarantee against employment and other discrimination at the giant new H-Bomb projects underway in Aiken, S. C., and elsewhere in the South.

In June, the Association held a history-making convention in Atlanta, Georgia, climaxed by the appearance of a police motorcycle escort to lead Dr. Ralph Bunche, speaker at the closing mass meeting, from the airport to the municipal auditorium.

SPINGARN MEDAL

In addition to Dr. Bunche, the delegates were addressed by Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College; Philip Willkie, Indiana legislator and son of the late Wendell Willkie; Dr. Algernon Black, chairman of the board of leaders of the New York Society for Ethical Culture; and Albin Krebs, former editor of the student newspaper of the University of Mississippi. Mrs. Mabel K. Staupers was presented with the Spingarn Medal for her outstanding work in eliminating discrimination in the field of nursing. The 750 delegates were outspoken and unequivocal in their condemnation of segregation and discrimination, and left the convention with renewed dedication to the fight against these evils on every front.

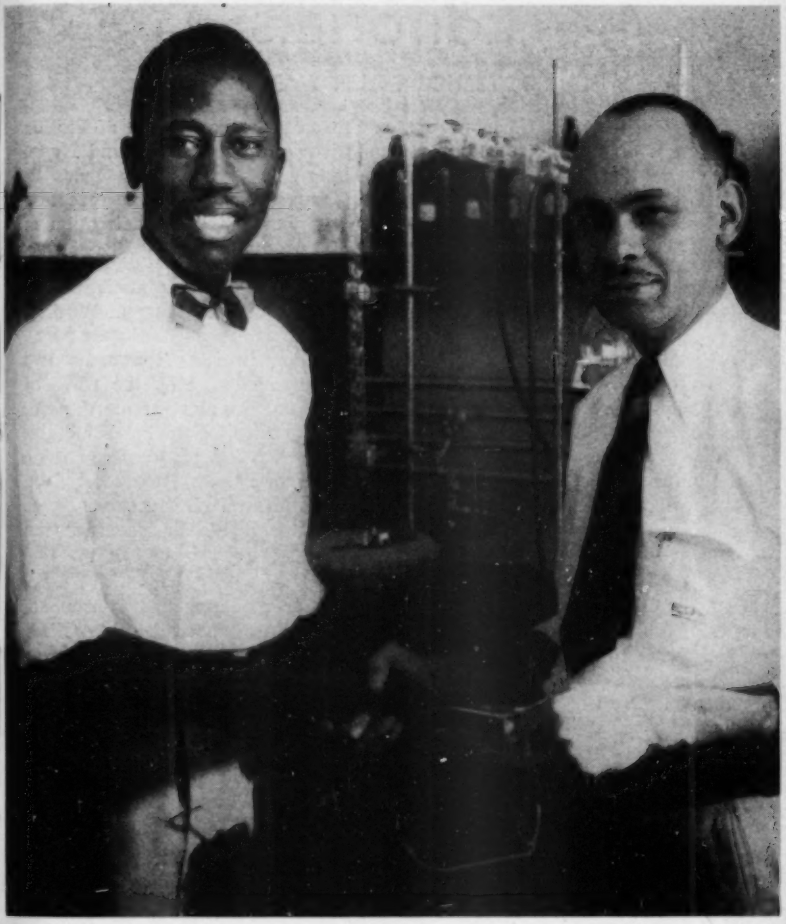
From the convention came the Association's campaign to have the new "Amos 'n' Andy" television show removed from the air. Blasting the show for depicting the Negro in a derogatory manner, the delegates adopted a resolution calling upon branches and other individuals and organizations to protest the program and to use every means at their disposal to discourage sponsorship of this and similar shows.

As the year drew to a close, the need for intensifying the fight against discrimination was becoming more and more apparent. This need was dramatically reflected in an upward swing of NAACP membership figures in 1951. Despite a number of setbacks, the Association and its friends were anything but discouraged, and faced 1952 with hope and determination for attacking the job ahead.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Danville, Virginia, had a Negro policeman at the time of the Danville riot in 1883?

Walter S. Withers is listed as a Negro policeman in "Danville Riot, November 3, 1883, Report of Committee of Forty with Sworn Testimony of Thirty-Seven Witnesses, & C."



SENIOR WINS AWARD—*Sylvester H. Pratt (left), a senior majoring in chemistry at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio, is being congratulated by his chemistry professor, Dr. Oscar Woolfolk, upon his receipt of the annual chemistry award of the Dayton, Ohio, chapter of the American Chemistry Society. The award to Mr. Pratt included a junior membership in the Dayton section of the American Chemistry Society. Mr. Pratt is a native of Sierra Leone, West Africa.*

Editorials

GOVERNOR FULLER WARREN

ONE of the most ridiculous acts of Governor Fuller Warren of Florida was his recent reception of a mixed delegation of white and Negro fellow travellers. "Red bosses were chuckling . . . , " comments Ogden R. Reid in the New York *Herald Tribune* (January 20), "over the reception given by Gov. Fuller Warren, of Florida, on January 9 to a delegation of Negroes and whites secretly organized by the Communist party."

This nineteen-member delegation was made up of representatives from the Civil Rights Congress, the Progressive party, the International Workers Order, the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, and the American Labor party. They talked with the Florida governor, according to news reports, for two hours on how to outlaw the Klu Klux Klan, how to stop the wave of bombings in the Miami area, and the necessity for bringing the murderer or murderers of Harry T. Moore and his wife to justice. Then the Honorable Fuller Warren had his distinguished guests over to the governor's mansion for luncheon. He even called out the state highway patrol to escort them over, which was unprecedented. The luncheon to a mixed white and Negro group was likewise unparalleled; the first time a Florida governor has munched sandwiches in public with Negroes.

WHY was Governor Warren so affably accomodating to this group of fellow travellers when he has so persistently snubbed the NAACP?

It is the NAACP which has furnished the recognized leadership in protesting the series of recent outrages committed against Negroes in the Peninsula state. It was the NAACP that handled the Groveland "rape" case, and the appeal. It was the NAACP that was defending Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin when they were shot by officers of the law. It was the NAACP official Harry Moore who had traveled throughout the state raising money and arousing public opinion to the injustice done in the case of the Groveland boys. It was Mr. Moore who petitioned Governor Warren for the removal of Sheriff McCall after the shooting of Samuel Shepherd.

Yet this governor now flouts the NAACP and calls two of its top officers, Walter White and Thurgood Marshall, "rabble rousers" and "leftists." Is Governor Warren so naive that he doesn't recognize real rabble rousers and leftists when he sees them? Recognized Negro leadership spoke in the Florida rally to avenge the Moores held at Jacksonville on January 20th. Negroes are not going to retreat one ell until the cowardly slayers of the Moores have been brought to justice.

Come now, Governor Warren, do you think you can appease Negroes by munching sandwiches with them? Or by offering $5000 rewards for the

killers of the Moores? You can't wriggle out of these problems by talkfests with fellow travellers.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

RACIAL items in the news last month ran the gamut from bigotry to liberalism. Out in Phoenix, Arizona, the body of 19-year-old Thomas C. Reed, who died in Korea fighting for the American way, was denied burial in the veteran's plot of Greenwood Memorial Park for six weeks all because he was not white.

Negro veterans have been buried in the cemetery, but only after their next of kin had gone through the red tape of three notarized letters from veterans organizations. This is a requirement which Arizona Lodge No. 2, Free and Accepted Masons, owners of the cemetry, do not demand of white veterans.

REED'S father, George Reed, wanted his boy buried with other veterans, but he refused to ask for the sort of silly clearance demanded by the cemetery owners. Reed was finally buried on January 12, after six weeks of controversy, when the cemetery board of trustees waived its rules. There is said to be a movement on foot now to remove the restrictions.

Down in Columbia, S. C., Governor James F. Byrnes is still flaying the carcass of state's rights. Mr. Byrnes doesn't want Negro and white children to mingle in the public schools of South Carolina if he can help it, and he is afraid that the decision in the Clarendon county case (which resulted in a 2-to-1 lower court decision upholding the state's segregated school system) might be upset by the United States Supreme Court. So he has asked the South Carolina legislature to submit a resolution repealing the state constitutional provisions for a public school system at the next general election. What Mr. Byrnes is threatening is to abolish the state's public school system—if it becomes really democratic by integrating Negroes.

Governor Talmadge's blast at TV shows which practice racial equality were the vaporings of an ignorant man. And out in California at San Diego the Professional Golfers Association banned Joe Louis from the open golf tournament, which is open only to "Caucasians." Joe was finally admitted on the technicality that he was an amateur.

AMONG the items on the liberal side were the adoption of an anti-bias program by the Woman's Division of Christian service of the Methodist Church. The women voted at their annual meeting at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., to work for a "social order without racial bias." In Summit, N. J., the YMCA voted to merge its Central and Lincoln branches, the latter being Negro. The University of Tennessee enrolled its first Negro, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company decided (after a conference with City Council President Rudolph Halley) not to evict the nineteen tenants who had been active in breaking down discrimination at Stuyvesant Town. We advance, 'tis true, but it is a tough uphill fight.

Good News

Louis Parker, newly elected mayor of Ecorse, Michigan, has appointed two Negroes to important city commissions. Clarence Oliver has been appointed to the Police and Fire Commission, an administrative body controlling the appointment, demotion, etc., of firemen and policemen. Before his appointment, Mr. Oliver was a detective in the Wayne county sheriff's office.

Fred Stubblefield, an active worker in local 1299 of the UAW-CIO, has been appointed to the Election Commission, which appoints all members to the Election Board. Ecorse is a suburb of Detroit.

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Lawrence R. Bailey, a New York City attorney, has been appointed assistant counsel in the office of newly-elected city council president Rudolph Halley. Prior to the appointment of 33-year-old Attorney Bailey, the council president's office had been lily-white, with not even the traditional Negro messenger.

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Willie Lee Duckworth of Sandersville, Georgia, was awarded the first annual achievement award of the George Washington Carver Monument Foundation on January 5 for his now famous "Sound Off." Originally called the "Duckworth Chant," the piece was composed at Fort Slocum, Long Island, in May, 1944. Duckworth's commanding officer, Col. Bernard Lentz, who is also author of the Army's standard manual on close-order drill, had the professional musicians in his outfit to set the chant to music. Col. Lentz later had the piece incorporated in his manual, "The Cadence System of Teaching Close-Order Drill."

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Evan Edward Worthing of Houston, Texas, has left a trust fund of $500,000 to provide college scholarships for deserving graduates of Houston's Negro high schools.

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Among the new officers on the United Negro College Fund board are John H. Johnson of Chicago, publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet;* and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and now president-emerita of Bethune-Cookman College.

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According to *The Living Church Annual,* yearbook of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Harlem's St. Philip's Church has the largest Protestant Episcopal membership in New York City. Now located at 214 West 134th Street, the church was founded in 1818 and has a congregation of 3,707. Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop is the rector.

NAACP Letter to President Truman Asking Presidential Action in Christmas Slaying of Harry Moore

The following letter, signed by Arthur B. Spingarn, president of the NAACP, and Dr. Louis T. Wright, chairman of the NAACP board of directors was sent to President Harry Truman on December 28, 1951.

ON Christmas night when almost all the people of our nation had their minds on peace and goodwill toward men a bomb was exploded under the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in the town of Mims, Florida. When the explosion had died away Mr. Moore was found to be mortally wounded. He died on his way to a hospital. Mrs. Moore was seriously injured and may or may not recover. [She died in a hospital at Sanford, Florida, on January 3, from her injuries.]

Mr. Moore had been for many years a leading figure in the National Association fo; the Advancement of Colored People, being at one time president of his local chapter in Brevard county, executive secretary of the Florida state organization, and coordinator of the state work. He took a leading part in the protest over the killing on November 6 of the handcuffed prisoner, Samuel Shepherd, by Sheriff Willis McCall near the town of Eustis, Florida, as Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin were being returned to Tavares for a new trial ordered for them by the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. President, the wanton, cowardly murder of Harry T. Moore has shocked and horrified America because he was guilty of no crime against society, of no behavior that begets violence, and of no beliefs contrary to the proud principles of the American heritage.

Harry T. Moore believed in the American Declaration of Independence which declares that all men are created equal.

He believed in the Constitution of the United States which declares for equality before the law and against inequalities based upon race, color or previous condition of servitude.

He believed especially in that part of the Constitution which provides that no man may be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law.

In protesting the killing of the prisoner, Shepherd, Harry Moore was acting as a law-abiding American, exercising his right as a citizen to organize, protest, and petition the governing powers of the state and nation. He devoted his life to efforts, in the American way, with the American weapons of law and order, to improving the lot of his people who suffer grievously, each and every day, in Florida and in many other sections of our land, through being deprived of their rights and their dignity as citizens and human beings solely because of their race and color.

Mr. President, if Harry T. Moore was wrong in his beliefs and his actions, then there is no America, and all the things we dream, and all the dreams we preach have no meaning, not only for Harry Moore's people, but for any people within our borders or elsewhere in the world.

If Harry Moore was right then we say to you most solemnly that the government of the America in which he believed, and in defense of whose principles he feared not to sacrifice everything — even his life — must move with all speed and to the fullest extent possible to the detection and relentless prosecution of his murderer or murderers.

For the killer of Harry T. Moore is the assassin of the democratic ideal. No man or group of any kind, complexion, or size in our nation may proceed with safety on the business of democratic living if bombs and terror and murder in the night are to be permitted to supplant the Constitution and the laws of free America. No labor union is secure. No religious body has an asylum. No racial group is safe. No person who hates prejudice and bigotry and seeks to wipe it out by lawful means is safe from intimidation and death.

Especially is this true of Negro Americans who, up to this point, have clung stubbornly to the belief that they can secure justice and equality under the law. Firm in this belief, they have defended their country at every turn and have resisted efforts to turn them against the American way of life. But, Mr. President, if the murder of Harry T. Moore is to represent the American way of life, then millions of Negro Americans can but stand in dazed and bitter anger at the betrayal of their hopes and their faith.

This is a time for grave decision and resolute action. There can be but one choice between law and justice on the one hand, and murderous anarchy on the other.

Speaking for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and for the millions of white and Negro citizens who are outraged at this Florida killing and the threat it portends, we call upon you as Chief Executive of our nation, to invoke all the powers of the Federal government, to the end that Harry T. Moore may vindicate in death those principles and practices he sought in life.

Looking and Listening . . .

THERE is a Haitian proverb which says: "When you see the wood-louse eat the earthern jar, the calabash can not be expected to resist." Point of the proverb is that when the teacher and exemplar succumbs to a vice, you must not expect the pupil to have higher moral standards.

Such was the tone of the comments of eighty European teen-agers studying at American secondary schools on American Field Service scholarships when they met with Harlem Negro leaders last December. These students expressed deep sympathy with our fundamental democratic principles; and they would really wish to apply them at home. However, they were baffled by continued American discrimination against Negroes. The best way to counteract the Communist propaganda in Europe that American democracy is undiluted fakery is to implement democracy to the extent that a Mims, Florida, bombing or a Cicero, Illinois, riot becomes impossible.

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HERE are two items which show the curious, and often humorous, workings of American race prejudice. White residents in the Eldridge section of Hempstead, Long Island, had protested to the courts that they were the victims of discrimination because the New York commissioner of education had placed them in a predominantly Negro school district. But New York supreme court Justice Isadore Bookstein refused to intervene in the State Education Department's decision to redistrict Hempstead. For once a proposed racial prophylaxis didn't work.

The other incident is even more curious. Down in New Orleans, Louisiana, Sheriff John J. Grosch of the Parish prison had issued an order which barred Negro reporters from interviewing the prison inmates. Yet the order did not apply to white newsmen. It was not until James LaFourche of the Associated Negro Press took up the matter personally with the sheriff that Grosch agreed to lift his two-year-old ban. It is still not clear why the order was ever issued.

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UNESCO has recently published a little book setting forth the obstacles to the free flow of information from country to country. Called

Trade Barriers to Knowledge, the booklet shows how custom duties and import charges on newsprint, books, paintings, sculpture, and visual and auditory material prevent international trade in information. The most frequent obstacle is restriction of import through exchange controls, licenses, and quotas. Sixty percent of the forty-three countries studied limit trade in informational items in this way. Most heavily taxed are films, sound recordings, and radio receivers. Jeremiah prophesied better than he knew when he wrote: "And they bend their tongues like their bow for lies; but they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth; for they proceed from evil to evil. . . ."

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ALABAMA replaces its Boswell amendment, knocked out by a United States Supreme Court decision three years ago, by a state constitutional amendment setting up more stringent qualifications for Alabama voters. The Boswell amendment, which required applicants for registration to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution to the satisfaction of the registration boards, was tailored to eliminate the Negro voter. When the Boswell amendment was invalidated, it left the state with very few voter qualifications.

The new amendment gives the county boards of registrars the judicial power to pass on the fitness of prospective voters. Applicants must be of good character, "embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship" as set forth in the state and federal constitutions, be able to read and write any articles of the federal constitution submitted to them by the registrars, and pass a written examination prepared by the state supreme court.

Such broad powers make it easy for the boards of registrars to discriminate against prospective Negro voters. But we'll wait and see!

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DISCRIMINATION based on color and nationality is still the policy in the Marine Division in Panama City, Panama, according to *The Panama Tribune.* Harbormaster Arthur S. Wilson is charged with "unfair and unjustifiable" employment practices against local-rate workers (nonwhites). Between June, 1949, and October, 1951, a total of sixty-two West Indian old-timers were either retired or discharged from the Marine Division. The workers charge that Harbormaster Wilson was motivated by the desire to rid his division of all dark-skinned elements, especially West Indian Negroes and their Panamanian offspring.

"In another instance it was observed that increased shipping in

NEW DKG MEMBER—*Mrs. Muriel Snowden, associate director of Freedom House, Inc., Roxbury, Mass., was recently initiated as a member of Lambda chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma society, a national honor society of women educators.* *See "College and School News," page* 125.

1951 resulted in the hiring of 267 seamen as compared to a total of 214 seamen hired in 1949. Of the 53 new employees added to the Canal seamen gang 'only eight were of West Indian parentage.'

"In support of the complaint against Harbormaster Wilson it was further revealed that during the past two years or more a total of 112 local-rate positions were filled by the Marine Division. Of this number only five Panamanians of West Indian origin gained employment."

It seems that President Truman could introduce a little democracy in the Panama Canal Zone.

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AT the opening session of the 16th Quadrennial Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement at the University of Kansas in January, the Reverend Tracey Jones, Jr., of New York, conference secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement and a second generation China missionary, warned that in Asia and elsewhere to the old resentment against Western domination, and against poverty and want, there have been added new facets: contempt for the arrogance and pretensions of those who once ruled; hope for a way out of bondage; and, most important, a new surge of pride in their own race and culture.

"People whose color of skin is not white, now are thanking God for it," he told the delegates. "This is something we dare not ignore. If the Church cannot meet the racial issues of our time, the Church will become irrelevant."

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GEORGIA'S preglacial Governor Herman Talmadge has been overwhelmed by a discovery. And what is this discovery which overwhelms the Governor? That three television shows violate the spirit of the South's segregation laws. Talmadge objected to the Arthur Godfrey show because "The Mariners," a quartet, has two white and two Negro men. Talmadge objected to the Ken Murray Christmas show because it practiced the spirit of brotherhood and Christianity — Murray presented white and Negro children together in a dance group. Talmadge objected to the Clifton Fadiman show because "a Negro performer was brought into close conversation with a white woman stage star and they exchanged badinage on a purely social, equal basis."

These things, which are American and decent and human, Governor Talmadge thinks in extreme bad taste. Yet he insists that he does not seek "discrimination or unfairness toward Negro performers."

Arthur Godfrey replied promptly: "I'm sorry for His Excellency, Governor Talmadge, but as long as I'm

PRIZE WINNER AT PAPER-DRESS BALL—*Emily Miles wore this prize-winning costume at the Paper-Dress Ball recently sponsored by the Newark, N. J., NAACP branch. The dress, made of brown wrapping paper with black sequin decorations, was created by Janet Beadle, local designer. Miss Miles, who is a millinery designer, created the hat out of the same materials.*—Photo by Wells Raney.

on the show the Mariners are going to stay with me. . . . It's a pretty tough place where human beings can't sing together. In such a place liberty is going to collapse. . . ."

Governor Talmadge should now receive a check from the Politburo.

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RADIO station WLIB, New York City, reports a 30.3 percent drop in the Negro population of Harlem. Since 1947 a total of 182,000 persons have left Harlem and resettled in other parts of Metropolitan New York. Employment is high, with 95.7 percent of all employable Negroes working. High school enrollment is high, and deposits in postal savings accounts in three Harlem branch postoffices exceed $12 million.

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AN Afrikaner, J. D. L. Kruger, has come up with a scheme for total, unadulterated *apartheid*, or segregation. He has published a booklet called *Bantustan* in which he argues that all South African Natives should be corralled into a new state to be known as "Bantustan." He contends that Europeans must either accept the sacrifices his "Bantustan" entails or go under. He thinks, too, that the Durban riots marked the first major attempt by Africans to solve the color problem by force, and that it may not be the Indian but the European next time.

His "Bantustan" would include Zwaziland, East Griqualand, the whole of Natal, the Transkei and Ciskei, down as far as the Fish River; but for some odd reason he leaves out Basutoland. His plan also includes the cities of East London, Queenstown, Cradock, and King Williams' Town, in addition to Natal urban areas like Durban, Maritzburg, etc.

Mijnheer Kruger is undoubtedly the world's greatest optimist. Does he think Europeans are going to abandon their homes, ports, properties, and industries to achieve total *apartheid?*

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SOUTH AFRICAN Nationalists are finding it increasingly difficut to reconcile *apartheid* and industrialization. There is an excess of work, but a shortage of workers. The main causes are the vast expansion of industries and the restriction on white immigration. Though the proportion of Non-Europeans in industry has increased, it has not been at the expense of Europeans. The latter have moved, and are moving, into the higher skilled jobs. The former are moving into the semi-skilled and "upper-semi-skilled" jobs. While the Nationalists are fighting against social and political integration, economic integration moves apace.

Since 1948 the number of Europeans in industry has increased four percent, but Non-Europeans, thirteen percent. In the textile industry, for instance, Native labor has increased ten-fold. There were 1,300 European textile workers in the Union in 1948, but 1,900 Colored and 4,600 Natives. In 1951 the number of Europeans had increased to 1,800; whereas the number of Colored had doubled (3,800) and the number of Natives jumped to 7,400.

Die Burger, official organ of the Nationalist Party, offers a panacea which might reconcile segregation with the labor shortage. It suggests lessening the amount of work, which could be done through limitation on credit, with the cooperation of the banks. Yet it is "doubtful whether the banks would be ready to carry the accusation that they are creating depression and unemployment," the editor confesses. The alternative to reducing the amount of work is to increase the number of workers. Semi-skilled workers should be encouraged to become fully skilled, but the Natives must remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. "No White must work with pick and shovel," explains the editor.

★ ★ ★

THE following editorial from *Die Vaderland,* entitled "Liberalism in the Kitchen," has a familiar ring:

"We have heard many stories of Non-Europeans who cheekily declare that they are not ready to work for Afrikaners. Apparently it is easier for them to work elsewhere; there they can lean over the garden gate for hours on end and engage passers-by in loud conversations, or play the baas (boss) in the house because they know more about housework than the missus who is never in the house."

Mentioning the recent spate of letters to the English press on the subject of the unsatisfactoriness of Native servants, the editorial compares this to the earlier tales one heard during the war years of European women offering Non-European soldiers cigarettes and of white women climbing into police wagons alongside Non-Europeans in order "to protect their rights." The editorial continues: "Now these people have at last found out the true state of affairs. Despite all their politeness and sycophancy towards their Native servants it has become quite plain how hopelessly unformed and how close to the barbaric state the average Native still is. Spurred on by the agitators to ask for more and more wages, his capabilities do not rise, and the patient housewife remains the victim of primitive wiliness."

The editor then suggests that immigrants to South Africa adopt his view:

"If one looks at all the sentimental little stories that are spread overseas and make such a great impression on well-intentioned people who grieve bitterly over the inhuman oppression which the Natives have to endure, one merely has to speak to an immigrant who has been here for a year or two and who knows exactly how ridiculous is Rousseau's belief in the noble savage who can do no wrong. Immigrants from all countries soon adopt the Afrikaner's traditional standpoint towards the Non-European, and realize that it rests on reality and did not simply fall from the air. It is only among those rich people who have never done a stroke of work with their hands that one finds a sickly Negrophilism."

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CAHIER 12 of *Présence Africaine,* just out, salutes Haiti. A. Métraux writes on the Haitian peasant and African survivals in Haiti;

Odette Menesson-Rigaud, on Vodun; Comhaire-Sylvain, on Haitian songs and singing; Jeanne Sylvain, on Haitian children and their upbringing; and Pierre Naville, on Haiti and colonial emancipation.

Half of the issue is devoted to a select group of Haitian and African poets. The Haitians are Morisseau-Leroy, Roland Dorcely, and René Depestre; the Africans are Léopold Sédar-Senghor, Keita Fodebam, D. Mandessi, Birago Diop, Anoma Kanie, C. Mêdedji, and Thew' Adjie. Two French West Indian poets are represented in Paul Niger of Guadelouple and Charles Calixte of Martinique.

Other features of this issue are the standard "Chroniques": a short article on racism by Georges Balandier; school segregation in the United States by O. Mannoni, which mentions the work of the NAACP; painting in Haiti; the movies by Jean Caillens; and a short piece on Willie McGee by Jacques Howlett. There are the usual reading notes and book reviews. *Présence Africaine* is published in Paris and edited by Alioune Diop.

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Tennessee Capitulates: The NAACP moved another step nearer its goal of the complete breakdown of segregation in publicly-supported higher education when the University of Tennessee capitulated in January before the United States Supreme Court and agreed to admit within the month the four applicants to the law and graduate schools on whose behalf the Association attorneys had appealed to the high court. The victory was the thirtieth for the NAACP out of thirty-three cases carried to the United States Supreme Court.

The case was closed after John J. Hooker, representing the trustees of the University of Tennessee, rose in the Supreme Court following argument by NAACP assistant special counsel Robert L. Carter, to say that university trustees had agreed to admit Gene Mitchell Gray and Jack Alexander to the graduate school; and Lincoln A. Blakeney and Joseph H. Patterson to the law school in January. Later, Mr. Hooker and K. Dodson, who also represented the university, told reporters that this meant that all qualified Negroes will be admitted to "similar courses."

Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, said that the applicants will present themselves for admission and that the Association will take further action immediately if they are not admitted. Mr. Marshall also stated that further action will be taken if other qualified applicants are subsequently not admitted. He said the NAACP legal staff feels that this case sets sufficient precedent to open the law and graduate schools permanently to Negro students.

Legal Program 1952: The legal fight to eliminate segregation at the elementary and high school levels, and plans to secure greater job opportunities for Negroes through the elimination of discrimination in employment, will be given major emphasis by the NAACP legal department during 1952, according to special counsel Robert L. Carter.

Speaking before the Association's annual meeting at 20 West 40th Street, Mr. Carter said that in 1951, the NAACP legal staff engaged in the most extensive legal activity in the Association's history, and added that indications are that "1952 will require an even greater volume of litigation." He described various follow-up actions being taken in the wake of the Sweatt and McLaurin decisions of 1950, and said that the NAACP hopes that "by the end of 1952 all state graduate and professional schools will be accepting Negro applicants."

In the field of housing, Mr. Carter said, several cases seeking the end of segration in public housing are pending. In many cases, local authorities are condemning property on which Negroes are living and constructing in its place public housing from which Negroes are barred.

Mr. Carter also told the group that through a grant from the Masons, the legal department has been able to employ a research assistant who is doing basic research in the field of labor law so that the NAACP will have the tools with which to wage a battle against employment bias.

Groveland Trial: The retrial of Walter Lee Irvin, the surviving defendant in the Groveland "rape" case of 1949, has been postponed again and is now scheduled to take place in Ocala, Fla., starting February 11.

Pre-trial motions to be argued in the Marion county circuit court on Saturday, February 9, included a motion to re-admit NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall and assistant special counsel Jack Greenberg to the case. The two NAACP lawyers were barred from the trial by Circuit Judge T. J. Futch, who accused the Association of stirring up trouble in the community.

Alex Akerman, Jr., and Paul Perkins, Orlando attorneys for the defense, will also argue a motion to suppress certain evidence being offered by the state.

FLORIDA VIOLENCE

McGrath Promises Probe: Intensification of the hunt for the killer or killers of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore of Mims, Florida, has been assured by Attorney-General J. Howard McGrath.

The nation's chief law enforcement officer gave this assurance to a delegation of representatives of 16 national organizations who consulted with him in Washington on January 8 and demanded "that the investigation now underway . . . be expedited and intensified so that there will be immediate apprehension and arrest of the guilty parties."

The conference with Attorney-General McGrath was in response to requests by Walter White, following the Christmas night murders. Speaking for the delegation, Mr. White cited the "reign of terror" in Florida during 1951, including not only the murder of the Moores but also the bombings and attempted bombings of Jewish welfare centers and synagogues, a Catholic church, and a Negro housing project in Miami.

In addition to asking for intensification of the FBI investigation, Mr. McGrath was urged to call immediately a federal grand jury to investigate these crimes. He further called upon him for a decision to present to the United States Supreme Court for its determination the question as to whether Sheriff McCall acted in contempt of that court when he killed Shepherd and shot Irvin. A request for such action on the part of the Attorney-General was made by Thurgood Marshall on November 15, on the ground that the victims were under the protection of the Supreme Court, inasmuch as that court had ordered a new trial for them through the Florida Supreme Court.

In response to the delegation's demand, the Attorney-General revealed instructions he had given to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "You have complete and unlimited authority to make full investigation of the incidents that have, and any further incidents that may occur to the extent that we determine, if it is possible to do so, the persons responsible for these acts of violence."

Departing from precedent, Attorney-General McGrath instructed the FBI to let the determination of jurisdiction await the detection of all guilty persons, which he said is "of first importance."

In addition to Mr. White, the delegation included the following persons: J. Oscar Lee, executive director, department of racial and cultural relations, National Council of Churches; Reverend Thomas S. Harten, Brooklyn, New York, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.; Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union; Louis C. Pakiser, Jr., American Veterans Committee; Edward D. Davis, president, Florida State Conference of NAACP branches; Dorothy B. Ferebee, president, National Council of Negro Women; Reverend George Higgins, National Catholic Welfare Conference; P. Bernard Young, Jr., National Newspaper Publishers Association; David Brody, Anti-Defamation League, B'nai, B'rith; Reginald H. Zalles, Americans for Democratic Action; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Congressman, New York; John O'Connor, Catholic Interracial Council; Israel Goldstein, American Jewish Congress; Lewis G. Hines, special representative, American Federation of Labor; William Lavelle, assistant director, legislative department, CIO; Marcus Cohn, American Jewish Committee; Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Southwide Conference: A southwide conference of NAACP branches, spurred by the Christmas night bomb-killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, at Mims, Florida, was held on January 20 in Jacksonville, Florida.

Funeral services for Harry T. Moore were held at Mims, Florida, on January 1, with more than 600 Negro and white persons, including NAACP officials, in attendance.

Mrs. Moore's funeral was held at Mims on January 8. Roy Wilkins, NAACP administrator, represented the national office.

Moore Memorial: Two thousand persons who jammed Mt. Olivet Baptist church, 120th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, on January 6 for a memorial meeting for Harry T. Moore and his wife pledged their full support to the NAACP in its fight to bring an end to the current wave of terrorism in Florida against minority groups.

Walter White told the crowd that the Association will consider calling a nationwide work stoppage as a protest if those responsible for the Christmas night bombing of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Moore in Mims, Florida, resulting in their deaths, are not caught and punished.

Thurgood Marshall said that the Moores' death should be an object lesson to those who think that police brutality and mob violence are

directed only at hoodlums or underprivileged people. He asserted that all right-thinking Americans must work together to stop bigotry and prejudice by striking at it wherever it occurs.

Other speakers were vigorous in their pledge of support of the Association in its campaign against violence. They included Jackie Robinson; Shad Polier, chairman of the executive committee of the American Jewish Congress; Charles Zimmerman of Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Hulbert Warner, National Maritime Union, and Rev. L. S. White of the Williams Institutional C.M.E. Church. Rev. O. Clay Maxwell is pastor of the church in which the meeting was held.

A total of $2,200 in cash was raised for the civil rights work of the NAACP.

MISCELLANEOUS

Annual Meeting: Annual meeting of the NAACP was held in the Willkie Memorial building, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, on January 7. Walter White reported on the fight for civil rights and the work of the Association as a whole. Roy Wilkins, administrator, reported that although the Association still operated at a deficit in 1951, its financial status was better than it was in 1950. Gloster B. Current, director of branches, reported an increase in membership. Other reports were given by Robert Carter, assistant special counsel; Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington bureau; Rufus W. Smith, director of fund raising; James W. Ivy, editor of *The Crisis*; Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., church secretary; and Henry Lee Moon, director of public relations.

Garden Show: Plans for the gigantic benefit show to be presented by the Association in Madison Square Garden on Thursday, March 6, are well under way. The star-studded performance will feature such radio, motion picture, stage and television notables as Steve Allen, Yul Brynner, Dick Campbell, Eddie Cantor, Melvyn Douglas, Jimmy Durante, Johnny Faulk, Barry Gray, Juanita Hall, June Havoc, Celeste Holm, Gene Kelly, Canada Lee, Paul Lukas, Ezio Pinza, Muriel Rahn, Dorothy Sarnoff, Mildred Joanne Smith, Ed Sullivan, Maria Tallchief, Camilla Williams, and Martha Wright.

Oscar Hammerstein II and Lena Horne are co-chairmen of the benefit.

Bailey Leaves Staff: Lester P. Bailey, assistant field secretary, resigned from the staff as of February 15. Mr. Bailey worked with branches in the midwest area, assisting in membership and fund-raising campaigns.

Gertrude Gorman has joined the staff as assistant field secretary. A graduate of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, Miss Gorman was formerly a member of the executive committee of the Cleveland branch, and a former superintendent of the young people's department of the St. John AME Sunday School, Cleveland.

New Board Members: Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*

of Literature and author of *Modern Man is Obsolete* and other works, was among four new members elected to the NAACP board of directors on January 7 at the annual meeting.

Reverend James M. Hinton, president of the South Carolina state conference of NAACP branches and a leader in the fight to end segregation in the public schools of South Carolina, was also elected to the 48-man board; as were Dr. H. Claude Hudson, an NAACP life member from Los Angeles; and Andrew Weinberger of New York, a member of the board of directors of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

Members of the board who were re-elected are Dr. Joseph Berry, Tuskegee, Ala.; Hon. Hubert T. Delany, New York; Lewis S. Gannett, New York; Hon. William H. Hastie, Philadelphia; Professor S. Ralph Harlow, Northampton, Mass.; Mrs. Daisy Lampkin, Pittsburgh; Carl Murphy, Baltimore; Walter Reuther, Detroit; A. Maceo Smith, Dallas; Arthur B. Spingarn, New York; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, New York; and Dr. U. S. Wiggins, Camden, N. J.

The board members were elected by ballots sent in by NAACP branches to be opened and tabulated at the annual meeting.

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What the Branches Are Doing

District of Columbia: The MEDICO-CHIRURGICAL SOCIETY of the District of Columbia, oldest Negro medical organization and largest local Negro medical society, voted unanimously at its regular meeting on December 27, 1951, to take out a $500 life membership in the NAACP. Members of the Medico-Chirurgical express themselves as extremely cognizant of the importance of the work of the NAACP in the current fight for integration in medicine on all fronts and hope that other local Negro medical societies will follow its example.

Dr. Mazique, president of the society, is a member of the executive committee of the Washington NAACP branch, and three other members of the society serve on the national committee. They are Dr. Joseph Gathings, president of the NMA; Dr. Herbert Marshall, past president of the NMA; and Dr. Montague Cobb, editor of the NMA journal and chairman of the NAACP Medical Committee.

Illinois: President Nelson Willis of the CHICAGO branch reports that George Harris of the Parkway Amusement Corporation, 425 East 45th Street, Chicago, induced all of his employees to take out memberships in the NAACP. The sum of $84 was received, covering memberships and donations from employees at the Parkway Ballroom, Dining Room, and Blue Room.

Minnesota: The nominating committee of the MINNEAPOLIS branch submitted its slate of candidates for officers and executive board members for the year 1952 at the December 16, 1951, meeting. Candidates listed were as follows: president, William Cratic; vice-president, Curtis Chivers; secretary, Althea Ballard; treasurer, John Hutcherson. For members of the executive board: Sam Shimada, Frank Fager, Sidney Lorber, Henry Thomas, Harold Wilson, Harold Comba, Hardy White, William Sinnott, Phelma Benton, Cecil Newman, Archie Givens, John McHie, Florence Murphy, Opal Jones, Clarence Hughes, Thelma Oldham, Jonas Schwartz, Dr. W. D. Brown, Howard

MISS NAACP CONTEST—*Girls who participated in the "Miss NAACP Contest of the El Paso, Texas, branch during their fall membership drive. Girl bringing in the largest number of members was crowned "Miss NAACP" and given first cash prize.* TOP: *Left to right: Nona Mae Armstrong, Ona Mae Armstrong, Ruthie Walker, Lela Mae Moore ("Miss NAACP"), Bobbie Williams, Sandra Alexander, and Estine Hill.* BOTTOM: *Lela Mae Moore, crowned "Miss NAACP," Bobbie Williams (second prize winner), and Sandra L. Alexander (third prize winner).*

Bennett, Clifton Brown, Mary Jo Howell, Marjorie Curry, Beatrice Perlman, and Earl Cluka.

New Jersey: August Meier, secretary of the NEWARK branch, resigned his position on January 3, 1952, to accept a 1952 fellowship grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. He is a graduate of Overland college and holds a M.A. from Columbia university. He is now pursuing work toward the Ph.D. degree at the latter institution.

Mr. Meier was professor of history at Tougaloo college, Tougaloo, Mississippi, for four years; he now teaches a course in Negro history at City College, New York City.

He is the second member of the Newark branch executive board to receive an award in recent months. Phillip Hoggard received a student-exchange study award and is now teaching in Leeds, England.

ANGUST MEIER, *former secretary of the Newark, N. J., branch.*

North Carolina: The ROCKY MOUNT branch celebrated its twelfth anniversary with a mass meeting and banquet in the St. James Baptist church on November 16, with attorney Herman delivering the main address. The branch sent a $30 donation to the national office to be applied to the Max Ingram and Groveland cases. Charlie Jones is branch president, and Mrs. Inez Shine secretary.

In January the branch voted to send $10 to the Harry Moore bomb-fund and a telegram to President Truman and Governor Fuller Warren of Florida.

W. C. Chance of Parmele was speaker at the second anniversary meeting of the WAYMAN-ENFIELD branch on November 15, 1951. Rev. A. A. Burgin was re-elected president for a third term, and Mrs. D. H. Williams secretary. Twenty-five members have been added to the branch, and a donation has been sent to the national office for the Ingram and Groveland cases.

The branch also sent letters of protest to the local white school, fire department, and a merchant denouncing the use by white students of low-class Negro comedy stereotypes during the Firemen's Fair. The merchant apologized.

J. B. Harren of the local NAACP board has been serving as a state coordinator in organizing branches in Tarboro, Robersonville, Spring Hope, Enfield, and Rocky Mount. John Williams and L. E. Austin, Durham publisher, spoke to an audience of over 500 people on December 2. This was the annual meeting and thirty memberships were secured and $50 raised.

Tennessee: The KNOXVILLE COLLEGE chapter of the NAACP has announced a drive to enroll every student in the college. The student organizers are Kenneth Jackson, Mary Kyle, Cecil Bishop, Martha Cox, Barbara Cowan, and Virginia Cox.

Texas: The EL PASO branch closed a successful fall membership drive, with the addition of 213 members. Seven teen-age girls engaged in the drive and a "Miss NAACP" contest. The girl bringing in the largest number of members was crowned "Miss NAACP" of the El Paso branch and received the first cash prize. This honor went to Lela Mae Moore. Second and third prizes went to Bobbie Williams and Sandra Alexander, respectively.

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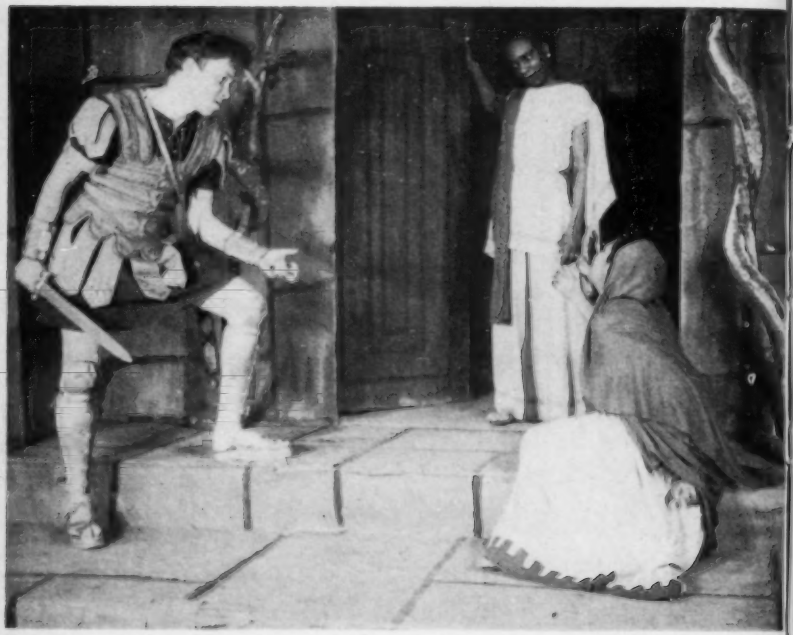

GREEK CLASSIC—*Central State College (Wilberforce, Ohio) Players' Guild recently electrified the campus with its performance of Euripides'* Medea. *Pictured here from left to right are Nillo Kaponen, as "Jason"; Emma Alexander, as Medea's nurse; and Kathaleen Welch, as "Medea."*

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College and School News

WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE reports complete reorganization of its department of sociology, with the addition of two new courses. Social statistics, methods of social investigation, and methodology and logic of the natural and social sciences have been added to the area of methods. Theory has been expanded to include history of sociology and social theory. The amount of work required for degrees has been increased to thirty hours for majors and eighteen hours for minors.

Fourteen new members were "induced" and seven were "tapped" at the annual ceremonies of the Alpha Delta Sigma honorary society last December.

■

Dr. Leland Miles, head of the English department at Hanover college, Hanover, Indiana, was speaker at the mid-week assembly sponsored by the English department of KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE in celebration of "English Emphasis Week."

The Kentucky State band, under the direction of Henry Green, and an elaborate float, in which "Miss Kentucky State" and her attendants rode, were units from KSC which joined the other state colleges in Governor Lawrence Weatherby's inaugural parade on December 11 at Frankfort.

President R. B. Atwood was first speaker at the fall meeting of the National Midcentury Committee for Children and Youth, Inc. President Atwood is a member of his state committee.

■

Mrs. Muriel Sutherland Snowden, associate director of Freedom House, Inc., Roxbury, Massachusetts, has been initiated as a member of Lambda chapter of the Delta Kappa Gamma society, a national honor society of women educators. Membership is by invitation only and is limited to one-tenth of the women educators in a city or county.

Mrs. Snowden is a graduate of Radcliffe college and attended the New York School of Social Research as a National Urban League fellow. As a specialist in community organization and intergroup relations, Mrs. Snowden has long been active in educational programs which promote democratic community living.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was host to some 200 delegates in attendance at the annual Hi-Y Youth and Government Program held in Jefferson City December 21-22.

The January issue of the *Grade Teacher* carried a contribution by Azalia E. Martin, associate professor of education at Lincoln, entitled "Aunt Hetty Joins the Good Health Brigade." The playette, with six characters, is designed for intermediate grades.

The department of music at Lincoln has been promoted to full membership in the National Association

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of School of Music after a year's associate membership in the organization. Of the 205 schools in the NASM, Lincoln and Howard are the only Negro schools holding membership.

Annual founders' day was observed by the university on January 13, with an all-university convocation as the highlight of the celebration.

Emil Telfel, associate professor of journalism at the University of Kansas, will serve as director of the fourth annual Interscholastic Press Workshop conducted by the Lincoln university school of journalism April 23-26, 1952. A fourth day has been added this year in order to provide for a third section in photography at the workshop. There are now three workshop sections in news, yearbook, and photography.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY's division of fine arts presented the cantata "The Story of Christmas," by H. Alexander Matthews, in the university church on December 16.

■

A grant of $2,500 has been made to THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., to help finance a campaign against discrimination and segregation in hospital and health service. The gift is conditional upon the SCEF's raising an additional $2,775.

First step in the campaign will be a poll of the 2,414 hospital administrators and the 46,000 members of the American Medical Association

in nineteen southern and border states and the District of Columbia on attitudes toward admitting Negro patients to hospitals and extending hospital courtesies to Negro physicians.

■

Attorney Clarence L. Sharpe, '28, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been invited by the TALLADEGA COLLEGE alumni committee to be the first alumni lecturer. Attorney Sharpe visited the campus February 9-11 and discussed vocational and other experiences with the students.

The all-expense Talladega scholarship examinations will hereafter be given to students of the nation at large, not merely to those in the southern region as heretofore. Regardless of race or nationality, qualified students are asked to apply for admission to Talladega.

■

A series of five lectures on Indian life and philosophy were given at SPELMAN COLLEGE last fall by Dr. S. Shridevi. The first discussion, "Introduction to India," was given on November 19; "Some Aspects of Indian Philosophy," on November 26; "Buddhism," on December 3; "Hindu View of Life," on December 10; and "Mahatma Gandhi," on December 17. Dr. Shridevi is president of the Central College for Women at Nagpur, India, and a guest professor at Atlanta university. She was educated in India and the United States, holding both an M.A. and a Ph.D. from Teachers College, Columbia university.

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The Carnegie library at WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY has arranged a showing of the exhibition, "People of India," a selection of photographs by Margaret Bourke-White. The showing is sponsored by the college senior class and the library.

Plans have been completed for observance of 96th founder's day at Wilberforce on February 25. Funds for the founder's day drive have been set at $10,000, and this goal is expected to be reached by February 25.

■

TENNESSEE A. AND I. STATE UNIVERSITY reports the listing of twenty-five of its students in the 1951-52 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges.* This annual gives recognition to eligible students who are classified as juniors, seniors, or graduate students who have been outstanding in scholarship and college activities.

Dr. Virginia Simmons Nyabongo, professor of French at TAISU, was chairman of French VIII at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association in Detroit, Mich., December 27-29.

■

DILLARD UNIVERSITY received notice at the end of December that its division of Nurse Education has been fully approved for national accreditation by the Collegiate Board of Review of the National Nursing Accrediting Service. This means this division at Dillard is recognized as having instruction and practices that meet the highest standards.

Dillard has the distinction of conducting the only nationally approved collegiate basic nursing school open to Negroes in the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Mississippi, an area which has a Negro population of more than three million.

The nursing course at Dillard consists of four and a half years of study leading to the B.S. degree in nursing. In addition to her professional training, the Dillard nursing student gets a general education background of art, music, literature, and science.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE reports 1 lynching for the year 1951, according to records compiled in its Department of Records and Research. The 1951 victim was Melvin Womack, 26-year-old Negro of Winter Garden, Orange county, Florida. He died on March 31 in an Orlando hospital of wounds received after being forced by masked men from his home. The day following his seizure, he was found in an orange grove by an officer of the law. Taken to the hospital, he died two days later. Reports state that he did not know his assailants or why he had been kidnapped. It is thought the night riders lynched the wrong man.

The Tuskegee report mentions the killing of Samuel Shepherd by Sheriff Willis McCall near Umatilla, Florida, but does not consider it technically a lynching.

The report also mentions three instances in which lynching were prevented.

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METROPOLITAN MUSIC SCHOOL—*Irwin Freundlich (at the piano), donor of scholarships at the Metropolitan Music School is shown with the winners of the competition held at the school, 18 West 74th Street, New York City, last October. Left to right: Elinor Schlossberg, Enid Dale, and Lilly Popper, director of the Metropolitan School. Mr. Freundlich is on the faculty of the Juilliard School of Music, New York City.*

Dr. G. W. C. Brown, treasurer-business manager, Norfolk division, VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, has received the professional diploma, "Director and Superviser of Adult Education and of Community Services," from Columbia university. This diploma represents a year's work beyond the M.A. degree.

■

Sylvester H. Pratt, a CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE senior major in chemistry, has been presented with the annual chemistry award of the Dayton, Ohio, chapter of the American Chemistry Society. The award includes a junior membership in the Dayton section of the ACS.

The CSC Players' Guild recently produced Euripides' *Medea*, with Kathaleen Welch playing the title role.

Lane Kerr, new member of the

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English department at BENNETT COLLEGE, is author of the lead article in the fall edition of the *Carolina Quarterly*, North Carolina's leading literary magazine. His story, "A Flag For a Soldier," is a section of his thesis being done towards his degree of Master of Fine Arts at Woman's college, an extension of the University of North Carolina.

DID YOU KNOW —

That a British sailor, Ernest Hicks, was the first man arrested under the South African Immorality Amendment Act?

The original act was passed in 1927 but was never strictly enforced. The amended act, passed on May 30, 1950, widened the ban on "illicit carnal intercourse" between Europeans and Non-Europeans by substituting "all Non-Europeans" for "Natives." Hicks, first man arrested under the amended act, was in South Africa for the first time and knew nothing about the statute. But this did not save him from a four months' sentence to hard labor for "consorting" with a Colored woman.

★ ★ ★

That "passing" in South Africa is called "escaping"? The South African Colored (mixed bloods) who pass are called "escapes" because they have escaped from the Colored group. They are said to number about 500,000.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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MARTYR FOR A CAUSE

(*Continued from page* 81)

tive action in the lynching of J. J. Payne, the Governor turned the award of $237,500 over to the Florida A & M College of Tallahassee. In a sharply worded letter to Caldwell, Moore informed him that Florida Negroes would not consider the money as a gift. Criticizing Governor Caldwell for the failure to suspend the Sheriff, Moore said:

We wish to make it clear that we shall not consider this as a gift to the Negroes of Florida. Florida A & M College is a state-supported institution. The support and development of this

school is the responsibility of the state of Florida. If Florida A & M College is not getting sufficient financial support to make it measure up to the standards maintained at the University at Tallahassee, it is the fault of our state government, and not the responsibility of Florida Negro citizens. Therefore, any money that you give will be a contribution to our state government, and not a gift to the Negroes of Florida. We wish also to emphasize the fact that such a gift will not soothe the wounded feelings of Florida Negro citizens. We are still disappointed because of your failure to take effective action in the Payne lynching.

GROVELAND CASE

On July 16, 1949, occurred the incident which may have been the ultimate cause of Moore's death. Mrs. Willie Padgett claimed that four Negroes raped her that morning and as a result of her accusations, Samuel Shepherd, then 22; Walter Lee Irvin, also 22; and Charles Greenlee, 16, were arrested. Ernest Thomas ran away and was killed in a swamp near the town of Perry by the sheriff's posse. The three Negroes were arrested and charged with rape. Violence flared in Groveland. A howling shooting mob swarmed through the Negro sections. Three homes were burned to the ground and 400 Negroes were forced to flee from the sawmill community.

The NAACP sent Franklin H. Williams, then assistant special counsel, to the scene and as a result of his report the association entered the case. The case was tried in a hostile atmosphere in Lake county, Florida. The United States Supreme Court reversed the decisions of the lower court and ordered the case retried in an opinion handed down in April, 1951. In the majority opinion, Justice Robert H. Jackson excoriated the press of central Florida for bias and inflammatory handling of the case. The press had so influenced the jury, said Jackson

> . . . that the conclusion is inescable that these defendants were prejudged as guilty and the trial was but a legal gesture to register a verdict already dictated by the press and the public opinion which it generated.

Moore spearheaded the campaign in behalf of the case throughout the state, raising funds, writing letters, visiting branches and holding conferences with public officials. When Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake county killed Samuel Shepherd, one of the Groveland defendants, and seriously wounded Walter Lee Irvin, in November, 1951 Moore was active in seeking to bring about the indictment and prosecution of McCall.

Florida branches, at the call of Moore, demanded action to punish the sheriff. The NAACP State Coordinator spoke at NAACP meetings and circulated petitions demanding justice. He reminded Governor Warren that in 1949 the Florida NAACP had asked that the prisoners not be permitted to leave Rayford (State Penitentiary) without a special guard.

Less than two months after the murder of Samuel Shepherd, occurred another death in Florida, that of Harry T. Moore, an outstanding leader, a fearless crusader for justice. Why would anyone want to murder him? The answer lies in his continued fight for justice and his willingness to sacrifice himself for a cause.

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The Officers and Directors of Southern Aid Life Insurance Co., Inc., noting the keen and progressive interest of policyholders and the public in the progress and stewardship of companies in which they carry insurance protection, herewith give a preliminary résumé of the operations of this company during 1951.

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We are, therefore, pleased to report that this company made progress during the past year and served more policyholders and claimants through the prompt payment of Health, Accident, Hospital and Death claims, and fully matured Endowment policies, Cash Surrenders, Paid-Up and other values, than in any previous year. It therefore started the New Year with the background of the high appreciation of its policyholders, stockholders and the informed public, and with such a send-off the Officers are encouraged to strive during the current and future years to merit the continued acclaim of all interested persons through providing them with the best insurance protection and service.

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